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with the collaboration of Mary-Gabrielle Roth-Mouthon

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# FROM DEUTERONOMISTIC HISTORY TO NEBIIM AND TORAH

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## *1. Introduction: The Persian period and the threefold construction of the Hebrew Bible*

If one reads the three parts of the Hebrew Bible one gets the impression that it ends with the Persian period. In the *Nebiim*, the last of the twelve Prophets, Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi are situated under the Persians and the *Ketubim*, according to most Hebrew manuscripts end with the Book of Chronicles (see also *Baba bathra* 14b)<sup>1</sup> and the permission of the Persian king for rebuilding the Temple and the appeal to come back to Jerusalem:

Thus says King Cyrus of Persia: Yhwh, the God of heaven, has given me all the kingdoms of the earth, and he has charged me to build him a house at Jerusalem, which is in Judah. Whoever is among you of all his people, may the Lord his God be with him! Let him go up. (2 Chr 36:23)

Like in Deutero-Isaiah Cyrus appears to have been chosen to restore Judah and to invite the Babylonian Diaspora to do their *Aliyah*. It is interesting that this “open end” of the *Ketubim* does not respect chronology since the story about the restoration of Jerusalem, its Temple and the promulgation of the Law is told in the books of Ezra and Nehemiah which were placed before Chronicles.

As Sara Japhet has convincingly shown<sup>2</sup> we should dissociate the book of Chronicles from Ezra-Nehemiah and it might be possible that Chronicles have been written later, perhaps even during the Hellenistic time, as has been suggested by Peter Welten and others.<sup>3</sup> Still it is interesting that there are no

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<sup>1</sup> S. Japhet, *1 Chronik* (HTKAT; Freiburg/Basel/Wien: Herder, 2002), 27.

<sup>2</sup> S. Japhet, *The Ideology of the Book of Chronicles and Its Place in Biblical Thought* (2<sup>nd</sup> rev. ed.; BEATAJ 9; Frankfurt a. M.: Peter Lang, 1997).

<sup>3</sup> P. Welten, *Geschichte und Geschichtsdarstellung in den Chronikbüchern* (WMANT 42; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1973); G. Steins, *Die Chronik als kanonisches Abschlussphänomen. Studien zur Entstehung und Theologie von 1/2 Chronik* (BBB 93; Weinheim: Beltz Athenäum Verlag, 1995); idem, “Die Bücher der Chronik,” in *Einleitung in das Alte Testament* (8<sup>th</sup> ed.; ed. C. Frevel; Studienbücher Theologie 1/1; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2012), 313-331; H.-P. Mathys, “Chronikbücher und hellenistischer Zeitgeist,” in

direct allusions to events from the Greek period. The same holds true for the Latter Prophets. Several scholars have argued that the latest redactions of many prophetic books were undertaken during the Hellenistic period,<sup>4</sup> and that the scroll of Jonah was written at that time, but here again the redactors did not introduce clear allusions to that time.<sup>5</sup> To this compares the idea found in the Talmud that prophecy ended in the Persian period (*Baba bathra* 12a).

The Persian period is apparently considered as an accomplishment of a sort. This fits well the fact that the Persian kings and the Persian Empire are, in the Bible, never abominated or condemned as it is the case for the Egyptians, the Assyrians or the Babylonians. There may be some Persian individuals who act badly, as narrated in the book of Esther, but once their intrigues are thwarted, the Persian king will act favorably with regard to the Jews.

Even if there is little extra-biblical evidence for the theory of the so-called Imperial Authorization in order to explain the publication of the Torah,<sup>6</sup> the fact remains that the biblical accounts about the promulgation of the Law present Ezra as acting in conformity with the will of the Achaemenid ruler. According to Ezra 7, Ezra is sent by order of the Persian king in order to publish a Law, which is the law of Ezra's God and also the law of the Persian ruler (v. 28), whereas Ezra's God is also the God of heaven (v. 23: אֱלֹהֵי שָׁמַיָא).

Would Ezra's accreditation letter be a creation from the early Hellenistic period, as argued by S. Grätz,<sup>7</sup> it is all the more interesting, that it reveals an attempt to identify Ezra's law with the law or at least the will of the Persian king.

What are the reasons for this very positive view of the Persians? The answer may be twofold. First, the Judeans considered them as "liberators" since they had vanquished the Babylonians, who had destroyed the Temple and deported important parts of the population. Second, the Persians were apparently quite liberal with regard to internal affairs of the people incorporated in the Empire, as long as those were loyal and paid their taxes.

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*Vom Anfang und vom Ende: fünf alttestamentliche Studien* (BEATAJ 47; Frankfurt a. M.: Peter Lang, 2000), 41-155.

<sup>4</sup> See for instance O. H. Steck, *Der Abschluss der Prophetie im Alten Testament. Ein Versuch zur Frage der Vorgeschichte des Kanons* (BThSt 17; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1991).

<sup>5</sup> M. Gerhards, *Studien zum Jonabuch* (BThSt 78; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 2006).

<sup>6</sup> See on this debate G. N. Knoppers and B. M. Levinson, eds., *The Pentateuch as Torah. New Models for Understanding Its Promulgation and Acceptance* (Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2007).

<sup>7</sup> S. Grätz, *Das Edikt des Artaxerxes. Eine Untersuchung zum religionspolitischen und historischen Umfeld von Esra 7,12-26* (BZAW 337; Berlin/New York: de Gruyter, 2004).

I cannot pick up in this paper the interesting question why the Hebrew Bible in its three parts presents history as having found its end or its accomplishment in the Persian period. I would like instead to focus on the Former Prophets and to investigate the question of the last edition of the so-called Deuteronomistic History (DtrH) in the first half of the Persian period and its splitting up into Torah and Former Prophets, which also raises the question about the relationship between Torah and *Nebiim*.

## 2. Persian period edition of the so-called Dtr History

M. Noth's idea that the books of Deuteronomy to Kings constitute a historiography written shortly after the catastrophe of 587 (around 560)<sup>8</sup> has known several modifications, and recently especially in German scholarship a rejection. An important number of scholars argue nowadays that a "Deuteronomistic History" never existed. It is impossible here to comment in a detailed way on the present debate. Suffice it to say that the opponents to the theory do not present an alternative solution for the presence of dtr texts in the former Prophets and the idea of several uncontrolled and unrelated dtr creates in my view not a progress but a regression of a sort back to Wellhausen.<sup>9</sup> For our purpose we do not need to discuss the question of the starting point of the DtrH, which in my view lies in the end of the 7<sup>th</sup> century B.C.E. Like Noth scholars have often considered that the DtrH received its final shape around 560, since the last event reported in 2 Kgs 25:27-30, the release of Jehoiachin under the short reign of Amel-Marduk (in the Bible Evil-Merodach) can be dated around 562. Interestingly Noth here almost identified the *terminus a quo* and the *terminus ad quem* because of his idea that the Dtr was an "honest broker,"<sup>10</sup> who transmitted all the information and sources available to him. So if he had known of events from the Persian period he would have told them. But this view may be inappropriate. As Graeme Auld stated in a kind of mockery: "The fact that Kings ends with the fate of Judah's last king tells us no more about the date of composition (generally believed to be exilic) than the fact that the Pentateuch ends with the death of Moses."<sup>11</sup> Despite the exilic perspective of Deuteronomy to

<sup>8</sup> M. Noth, *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien. Die sammelnden und bearbeitenden Geschichtswerke im Alten Testament* (3<sup>rd</sup> ed.; Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1967). English translation: *The Deuteronomistic History* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed., JSOTSup 15; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1991).

<sup>9</sup> For this discussion see T. Römer, *The So-Called Deuteronomistic History: A Sociological, Historical and Literary Introduction* (London/New York: T&T Clark, 2005), 26-43.

<sup>10</sup> Noth, *Deuteronomistic History*, 26, 128.

<sup>11</sup> A. G. Auld, "Prophets through the Looking Glass: Between Writings and Moses (1983)," in *Samuel at the Threshold. Selected Works of Graeme Auld* (ed. A. G. Auld; SOTSMS; Aldershot/Burlington: Ashgate, 2004), 45-61, 61.

Kings there is some evidence that the DtrH underwent one or several redactions in the Persian period. Suffice it to point out the following examples:

- Whereas the DtrH ends with the narration of Judah's deportation, which is present in many dtr parenetical texts and speeches that explain the exile as Yhwh's ultimate judgment there are some passages that announce the possibility of a return to Yhwh (Deut 4:29-31) and of a return into the land of the fathers (Deut 30:1-10) or of a good life in the land of deportation (1 Kgs 8:46-53).<sup>12</sup>
- Whereas many dtr texts warn the addressees not to follow the אֱלֹהִים אֲחֵרִים, there are other texts with a "monotheistic" statement, claiming by using a terminology reminding of Deutero-Isaiah that Yhwh is the only God, and that the gods of the nations do not exist (Deut 4:32-40; 28:63; 1 Kgs 8:59-61).
- There are, especially in the book of Deuteronomy, passages that express an idea of segregation from the "other people" (Deut 7:1-6.22-26; 9:1-6; 12:2-7.29-31), which have their closest parallels in the books of Ezra and Nehemiah (see Ezra 9:1-3; Neh 9:2; 13).

In the following I would like to focus on other although related points that indicate a re-edition of the DtrH in the Persian period:

- (1) The construction of a Diaspora identity
- (2) From Temple religion towards a "book-" or a "torah-religion"
- (3) The construction of a "prophetic" history
- (4) Hexateuch or Pentateuch?
- (5) From Deuteronomistic History to the Former Prophets;
- (6) The relation between Pentateuch and Prophets.

### 2.1. *The construction of a Diaspora identity*

Even if some late additions, as those we already mentioned, envisage the possibility of the exiles' return to their land, other and probably more texts seem to suggest that the addressees should accept the possibility of a "longue durée" exile, that means to make their life outside the land, and according to the dtr redactors, especially in Babylon. During the first half of the Persian period, the economic and religious power in Yehud was under the control of the Babylonian Golah. There were those who had returned from Babylonia or their descendants, who considered themselves as the "true Israel," as we can see in the books of Ezra and Nehemiah.<sup>13</sup> But those books also indicate

<sup>12</sup> See on this already H. W. Wolff, "Das Kerygma des deuteronomistischen Geschichtswerks," *ZAW* (1961): 171-186. English translation: "The Kerygma of the Deuteronomic Historical Work," in *The Vitality of Old Testament Traditions* (ed. W. Brueggemann and H. W. Wolff; Atlanta, Ga.: John Knox, 1975), 83-100.

<sup>13</sup> C. E. Carter, *The Emergence of Yehud in the Persian Period. A Social and Demographic Study* (JSOTSup 294; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999).

the fact, well attested by extrabiblical sources, that not all of the Babylonian Judean elite was eager to return to Yehud. Therefore the dtr redactors of the Persian period had to deal with a double bind of a sort. On the one hand they emphasize the fact that all “Israel” should live in the land that Yhwh has already promised to the forefathers and has given through the conquest related in the book of Joshua (and as Axel Knauf and others have shown the book of Joshua underwent an important redaction in the Persian period).<sup>14</sup> By the identification of the addressees in the book of Deuteronomy with the generation of the conquest, the return from exile can be read as a new conquest (and this is the idea that underlies the books of Ezra and Nehemiah).<sup>15</sup>

On the other hand there was the reality that members of the “true Israel” preferred to stay in Babylonia, as we can see among others in the Murashu tablets of the 5<sup>th</sup> century from Nippur<sup>16</sup> which indicate that Judeans living in Babylonia were considered creditworthy and integrated into the society (see also Jer 29).

The “Golah redaction” of the DtrH tries to handle this dilemma in legitimating together with the promotion of the return in the land, the possibility to live outside the land, i.e. outside the province of Yehud.

This is effectuated in several ways. One way is to add to texts dealing with the conquest a description of the borders of the promised land, which extend as far as the Euphrates, but interestingly not as far as the Egyptian delta: Deut 1:7b adds to the description of the land to be conquered “the land of the Canaanites and the Lebanon, as far as the great river, the river Euphrates.” For Perlitt this is a “unsinnige Synthese von Kanaaniten und Euphrat,”<sup>17</sup> but this synthesis may tend to combine the land of Canaan with the land of the Babylonian Golah; a similar effort is made in Deut 11:24-25 and Josh 1:3-4. These verses that broaden the land to be conquered as far as the Euphrates, an extent not mentioned again in the following conquest accounts, can easily be recognized as an interpolation since they are in the second person singular and interrupt the speech addressed to Joshua (vv. 2 and 5) which is in the second person plural. This description apparently wants to present the whole Persian satrapy of “Eber-Nari” (“Beyond-the-River”) as a land where Judeans could live.

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<sup>14</sup> E. A. Knauf, *Josua* (ZBK.AT 6; Zürich: Theologischer Verlag Zürich, 2008), passim; K. Bieberstein, *Josua-Jordan-Jericho. Archäologie, Geschichte und Theologie der Landnahmeerzählungen Josua 1-6* (OBO 143; Freiburg Schweiz: Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1995).

<sup>15</sup> P. Abadie, *Le livre d'Esdras et de Néhémie* (CEv 95; Paris: Cerf, 1996).

<sup>16</sup> M. W. Stolper, *Entrepreneurs and Empire: the Murašû Archive, the Murašû Firm, and Persian Rule in Babylonia* (Uitgaven van het Nederlands historisch-archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul 54; Istanbul: Nederlands historisch-archaeologisch Instituut, 1985).

<sup>17</sup> L. Perlitt, “Priesterschrift im Deuteronomium?” *ZAW* 100 (1988) Supplement: 65-88 = *Deuteronomium-Studien* (FAT 8; Tübingen: Mohr, 1994), 97-108, 103.

The Diaspora perspective also includes a new definition of the (rebuilt) Jerusalem Temple. This is the case of Solomon's inauguration speech in 1 Kgs 8 in which one can quite easily distinguish three dtr layers, the last stemming from the Persian period.<sup>18</sup> The Persian period redactors also reworked Solomon's prayer, which is now structured in seven occasions of prayers towards Yhwh, as indicated in the following schema:

Vv.	Occasion	Place of prayer	Invocation	Divine intervention
31-32	oath	<b>before your altar in this house</b>	hear in heaven	judge your servants
33-34	defeated before an enemy	<b>in this house</b>	hear in heaven	forgive the sin of your people Israel, and bring them again to the <i>land that you gave to their fathers</i> .
35-36	no rain	<b>towards this place</b>	hear in heaven	forgive the sin of your servants ... grant rain on your <i>land, which you have given</i> to your people as an inheritance
37-40	plagues	<b>towards this house</b>	hear in heaven your dwelling-place	forgive ... they may fear you all the days that they live in the land that you gave to our fathers.
41-43	foreigner ... from a distant land	<b>towards this house</b>	hear in heaven your dwelling-place	do according to all that the foreigner calls to you
44-45	war	<b>towards the city</b> that you have chosen <b>and the house</b> that I have built for your name	hear in heaven	maintain their cause
46-51	sin and deportation	<b>towards their land</b> , <i>which you gave to their ancestors</i> , <b>the city</b> that you have chosen, <b>and the house</b> that I have built for your name	hear in heaven your dwelling-place	maintain their cause, forgive your people who have sinned against you and <u>grant them compassion in the sight of their captors</u> , so that they may have compassion on them

<sup>18</sup> T. Römer, "Redaction Criticism: 1 Kings 8 and the Deuteronomists," in *Method Matters, Essays on the Interpretation of the Hebrew Bible in Honor of David L. Petersen* (ed. J. M. LeMon and K. H. Richards; SBLRBS 56; Atlanta, Ga.: Society of Biblical Literature, 2009), 63-76. The idea of three layer is accepted by many scholars, see among others: I. Benzinger, *Die Bücher der Könige* (KHC 9; Freiburg i. Br./Leipzig/Tübingen: Mohr, 1899), 59; E. Talstra, *Solomon's Prayer. Synchrony and Diachrony in the Composition of 1 Kings 8, 14-61* (CBET 3; Kampen: Kok Pharos, 1993).



The first draft of this passage may stem from the Babylonian time, but in its present form a Persian period setting is more likely. Interestingly the prayer brings together the gift of the land and the fact of living outside the land. The expression “the land given to the fathers” appears for the first time in DtrH in 1 Kgs 8 (vv. 34.40.48) while in the Books of Deuteronomy and Joshua the land “promised to the fathers” appears constantly. It is only after the building of the Temple that the divine oath is fulfilled.<sup>19</sup> But in spite of the importance of the Temple, Solomon underlines in his prayer Yhwh’s optional separation from his sanctuary: he could be worshipped outside of the Temple. This is obvious in the prayer occasions of vv. 31-51. Contrary to the almost identical call to Yhwh (“hear from heaven”), the place from which the prayer is spoken varies in an interesting manner. In the first case, it is clearly the Temple, before the altar (v. 31). Then (v. 35), the prayer is addressed towards the sanctuary. Finally, people pray from another country, raising their request towards the fathers’ land, the city, and the Temple (vv. 46-51). That means that during the dedication of the Temple, Solomon predicts the loss of the land and the deportation.<sup>20</sup> At the same time, Solomon gives the rebuilt Temple a new role: it becomes a *qibla*, and prayers towards the Temple replace the sacrifices. In this last prayer there is no mention of a return. The dtr redactor envisages that Yhwh will listen from heaven, but will not bring the people back from exile; rather, he will grant them compassion from those who deported them. The root is rare in the context of the DtrH,<sup>21</sup> the closest parallel occurs in Deut 30:3, which also belongs to a Persian period text:

Deut 30:3	וְיָשָׁב יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ אֶת־שְׁבוּתְךָ וְרָחֲמֶיךָ וְשָׁב וְקִבְּצָה מִכָּל־הָעַמִּים
1 Kgs 8:50	וַיִּנְתֶּנָּם לְרַחֲמִים לְפָנָי שְׁבִיָּהֶם וְרַחֲמִים

In Deut 30 the divine compassion leads to the return in the land, whereas in 1 Kgs 8, Yhwh provokes compassion among Israel’s vanquishers in order that they can live in the foreign land.

<sup>19</sup> T. Römer, *Israels Väter. Untersuchungen zur Väterthematik im Deuteronomium und in der deuteronomistischen Tradition* (OBO 99; Freiburg Schweiz: Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1990), 372-384.

<sup>20</sup> It is significant that the prayer occasions in vv. 33-40 and 46-51 correspond to the curses of Deut 28: defeat (1 Kgs 8:33; Deut 28:25), no rain (1 Kgs 8:35; Deut 28:25), famine, plague, blight, mildew, locusts or caterpillars, enemies (1 Kgs 8:37; Deut 28:21-22.38.25), deportation and exile (1 Kgs 8:46; Deut 28:64-65); see C. F. Burney, *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Book of Kings* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1920), 112-115.

<sup>21</sup> In the sense of compassion only in Deut 13:18, which presupposes the Achan story in Josh 7, and where Yhwh’s compassion provokes multiplication of the offspring. In 2 Kgs 13:23 which mentions Yhwh’s compassion because of the Patriarchs is clearly an insert into the notice about Hazael’s succession, and may stem from a post-dtr redactor, see Benzinger, *Könige*, 164, and M. Rehm, *Das zweite Buch der Könige. Ein Kommentar* (Würzburg: Echter Verlag, 1982), 135.

This parallel underlines how the Persian edition of the DtrH tries to combine the interest of the returnees and of those who remained in Babylonia. This also necessitated a redefinition of the Temple, whose central status is acknowledged but which is somewhat replaced by the scroll of the Torah.

Another strategy to integrate a Golah perspective can be found in the last three verses of the book of Kings, which may have been added in the Persian period. The rehabilitation of king Jehoiachin who becomes a privileged guest of the Babylonian king but stays as second to the king in Babylonia “all days of his life” can be read as a short story that tells the transition from Exile to Diaspora, as can be shown by the narrative parallels that exists between 2 Kgs 25:27-30 and the Diaspora novels, like the story of Esther and Mordecai, Joseph and the narratives in the first part of the book of Daniel. In all these texts an exiled person is brought out of prison, becomes in a way second to the king (2 Kgs 25:28; Gen 41:40; Dan 2:48; Esth 10:3) and the accession to this new status is symbolized by changing the clothes (2 Kgs 25:29; Gen 41:42; Dan 5:29; Esth 6:10-11; 8:15). All these stories insist on the fact that the land of deportation has become a land where Jews can live and even manage interesting careers. 2 Kgs 25:27-30 could be interpreted similarly: Exile is transformed into Diaspora.<sup>22</sup> This idea is brought forward discretely by the strategy of an open end. It shows that the Dtrs accepted the new geo-political situation and probably tried to come to terms with the Babylonians and then with the Persians.

## 2.2. From Temple religion towards a “book” or a “torah” religion

The story of Josiah’s reform in 2 Kgs 22-23 is a complex text whose first edition (in a very short form) might stem from the Josianic period. In a recent article Nadav Na’aman has argued that the story of the discovered book, the so-called *Auffindungsbericht*, was part of the oldest form of the story, which was according to him an independent narrative, which was later integrated in the DtrH History.<sup>23</sup> According to him the finding of the book was absolutely necessary for the original account, which needed a starting point for Josiah’s reform. But in the parallel account in 2 Chr 34 Josiah undertook his reform without any book, which was found only ten years

<sup>22</sup> J. D. Levenson, “The Last Four Verses in Kings,” *JBL* 103 (1984): 353-361; T. Römer, “La fin du livre de la Genèse et la fin des livres des Rois: ouvertures vers la Diaspora. Quelques remarques sur le Pentateuque, l’Hexateuque et l’Ennéateuque,” in *L’Ecrit et l’Esprit. Etudes d’histoire du texte et de théologie biblique en hommage à Adrian Schenker* (ed. D. Böhler, I. Himbaza, and P. Hugo; OBO 214; Fribourg: Academic Press; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2005), 285-294; R. E. Clements, “A Royal Privilege: Dining in the Presence of the Great King,” in *Reflection and Refraction. Studies in Biblical Historiography in Honour of A. Graeme Auld* (ed. R. Rezetko, T. H. Lim, and W. B. Aucker; VTSup 113; Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2007), 49-66.

<sup>23</sup> N. Na’aman, “The ‘Discovered Book’ and the Legitimation of Josiah’s Reform,” *JBL* 130 (2011): 47-62.

later. In the Chronicler's account, the book is not needed for the reform but for Huldah's oracle. Also in 2 Kings 22:8 the mention of the discovered book interrupts the scene in vv. 7 and 9, a fact that also supports the idea of a later insertion. Therefore I tend to disagree with Nadav on this point, but be it as it may, he also concludes that in the literary context of the DtrH "the 'book of the Law' became an element in the revolutionary concept of the 'book' as the word of God, symbolizing the transition of authority from the prophet and the Temple to the divine written word."<sup>24</sup>

The origin of the book-finding motif probably needs to be situated in the deposit of foundation tablets in Mesopotamian sanctuaries, which are often "rediscovered" by later kings undertaking restoration works. But interestingly, the foundation stone is in 2 Kgs 22 replaced by the book, which becomes the "real" foundation for the worship of Yhwh. In the present account of 2 Kgs 23, Josiah eliminates all cultic symbols from the Temple to make it the place where the book is to be read to the people. The replacement of the iconic and sacrificial cult by the reading of the book can be understood as a strategy to emphasize the importance of the written scroll. In doing so, the Persian time Dtrs prepare the rise of Judaism as a "religion of the book."<sup>25</sup>

The same phenomenon occurs in the addition to the Shema Yisrael in Deut 6:8-9 (or 6:6-9). This discourse about the importance of the divine words ends with the exhortation to inscribe the words of the Law on the doorposts of every house. This means that every house can become a temple of a sort since divine instructions are normally written on the walls of sanctuaries.<sup>26</sup> In a Persian period setting, 2 Kgs 22-23 and Deut 6:6-9 can also be read as foundation myth of the synagogues. It is difficult to know when the first synagogues were built, but it seems quite logical that the Diaspora situation needed buildings for gathering, for administrative and religious matters.

It has often been argued that the found book in 2 Kgs 22-23 should be identified with the first edition of the book of Deuteronomy, and this is certainly right in the sense that the *Ur-Deuteronomium* was written under Josiah. But in a Persian period context, the reading of the "book" in 2 Kgs 22-23 may already allude to the beginning of the promulgation of the Pentateuch. Some scenes in the reform account, often suspected to be additions, support that view: The eradication of the cult of Molech (23:10) is not based on a law in Deuteronomy but on prohibitions in the book Leviticus (18:21; 20:2-5). Equally, the *teraphim* (23:24) are not mentioned in Deuteronomy

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<sup>24</sup> Na'aman, "Discovered Book," 62.

<sup>25</sup> J.-P. Sonnet, "Le livre 'trouvé'. 2 Rois 22 dans sa finalité narrative," *NRTh* 116 (1994): 836-861.

<sup>26</sup> O. Keel, "Zeichen der Verbundenheit. Zur Vorgeschichte und Bedeutung der Forderungen von Deuteronomium 6,8f. und Par.," in *Mélanges Dominique Barthélemy. Études bibliques offertes à l'occasion de son 60e anniversaire* (ed. P. Casetti, O. Keel, and A. Schenker; OBO 38; Fribourg: Editions universitaires; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1981), 159-240.

but appear as “pagan idols” in Genesis (31:19.34-35). The expression “book of the covenant”<sup>27</sup> appears in Exod 24:7 but not in Deuteronomy. The cultic initiatives of Josiah may therefore reflect the beginnings of the compilation of the Pentateuch. In any case it is plausible that the passages, which insist on the written Law of Moses also stem from the Persian period. This is quite certainly the case for David’s testament to Solomon: “keep the charge of Yhwh your God, walking in his ways and keeping his statutes, his commandments, his ordinances, and his testimonies, as it is written in the Law of Moses, so that you may prosper in all that you do and wherever you turn” (2 Kgs 2:2). The first king who explicitly respects the Mosaic book of the Law is Amaziah,<sup>28</sup> who “did not put to death the children of the murderers; according to what is written in the book of the Law of Moses, where Yhwh commanded, ‘The parents shall not be put to death for the children, or the children be put to death for the parents; but all shall be put to death for their own sins.’” (2 Kgs 14:6) This reference to the book of the Law is interesting, since it contains a quotation from Deut 24:16. This shows that the redactor thinks of the king as the reader of the תּוֹרַת־מֹשֶׁה interpreting the law of the king in Deut 17:14-20, where the ideal king has to observe אֶת־כָּל־דִּבְרֵי הַתּוֹרָה הַזֹּאת וְאֶת־הַחֻקִּים הָאֵלֶּה לַעֲשֹׂתָם.

The king is therefore under the authority of the book and kingship can even disappear. Therefore one can read 2 Kgs 22-23 also as a story about the disappearance of kingship in favor of the book.<sup>29</sup>

The growing authority of the book not only affects the Temple and the king, but also the prophets.

### 2.3. *The construction of a “prophetic” history*

The multiple parallels between the discovery of the book and its reading under Josiah in 2 Kgs 22-23, and the “publication” and the reading of Jeremiah’s book under Jehoiakim (Jer 36) have been observed in several publications.<sup>30</sup> There is no doubt that both texts are to be read together; they

<sup>27</sup> The MT has “this book of the covenant” and suggests an identification of the “book of the covenant” with the “book of the Law.” LXX and Vulg (and one Hebrew ms) read, however, “book of this covenant.”

<sup>28</sup> Amaziah belongs to the kings who were not too bad, but nevertheless tolerated the high places (14:3-4).

<sup>29</sup> F. Smyth, “When Josiah Has Done his Work or the King Is Properly Buried: A Synchronic Reading of 2 Kings 22.1-23.28,” in *Israel Constructs its History. Deuteronomistic Historiography in Recent Research* (ed. A. de Pury, T. Römer, and J.-D. Macchi; JSOTSup 306; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000), 343-358.

<sup>30</sup> C. D. Isbell, “2 Kings 22-23 and Jer 36: A Stylistic Comparison,” *JSOT* 8 (1978): 33-45; C. Minette de Tillesse, “Joiakim, repoussoir du ‘Pieux’ Josiah: Parallélismes entre II Reg 22 et Jer 36,” *ZAW* 105 (1993): 352-376; J. Vermeylen, “L’école deutéronomiste aurait-elle imaginé un premier canon des Ecritures?” in *The Future of the Deuteronomistic History* (ed. T. Römer; BETL 147; Leuven: University Press/Peeters, 2000), 223-240; G. J. Venema,

contrast Josiah, “the good king,” and Jehoiakim, “the bad king.” Both kings are confronted with the discovery of a book, but they act in opposite ways. What has been less observed is the fact that in both narratives the prophet is dependent on the book. The prophetess Huldah, who might be a historical figure, is consulted in order to confirm the message of the book and the oracle she is giving sounds as if she were a female Jeremiah, because of its multiple parallels with the book of Jeremiah. Likewise, Jer 36 is the story of the replacement of the prophet by the scribe.<sup>31</sup> Yhwh now speaks to Jeremiah, not in order to communicate new oracles, but to ask him to write a scroll with all the words he has communicated to the prophet since the time of Josiah (v. 2); and Baruch, who writes the prophetic scroll, executes this order. The Judeans are not invited, like in Jer 7 or 26, to listen directly to the prophetic word but to the book (v. 3). The prophet disappears and his role is taken over by the book. Contrarily to Jer 7:2 (MT) and 26:2, the Judeans entering the Temple are not confronted with a prophetic speech but with the reading of a book by a scribe. The importance of reading the book is underlined in Jer 36 as well as in 2 Kgs 22. In each narrative the book is read three times.<sup>32</sup> In Jer 36, the only time, that Jeremiah reappears is at the very end of the story when, after the royal burning of the scroll, Yhwh commands him to write a new scroll, on which many other oracles were written (vv. 27-32). This might be understood as a reflection about the different stages in which the book of Jeremiah was edited. But above all, the conclusion of the story underlines once again the idea that prophetic orality is only accessible through the book produced by scribes.

The parallels in 2 Kgs 22-23 also suggest that the dtr revised the book of Jeremiah in order to constitute an appendix to the DtrH.<sup>33</sup> This is indicated likewise by the fact that Jer 52 constitutes a parallel to 2 Kgs 24-25. Even if both texts reveal a number of (interesting) differences, there is no doubt about a redactional intention to conclude both books in the same way. Such a phenomenon is unique in the whole Hebrew Bible. Probably 2 Kgs 24-25 and Jer 52 were not added at the same time. One may follow Ray Person and argue that the *Vorlage* of JerLXX 52 was taken over from a perhaps earlier version of 2 Kgs 24-25 and appended to the Jeremiah scroll by a dtr redac-

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*Reading Scripture in the Text. Deuteronomy 9-10; 31 – 2 Kings 22-23 – Jeremiah 36 – Nehemiah 8* (OTS 48; Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2004).

<sup>31</sup> R. P. Carroll, “Manuscripts don’t burn – Inscribing the Prophetic Tradition. Reflections on Jeremiah 36,” in «*Dort ziehen Schiffe dahin...*» *Collected Communications to the XIVth Congress of the International Organization for the Study of the Old Testament, Paris 1992* (ed. M. Augustin and K.-D. Schunck; BEATAJ 28; Frankfurt a. M.: Peter Lang, 1996), 31-42.

<sup>32</sup> In 2 Kgs 22-23 twice by Shaphan and once by Josiah, in Jer 36 twice by Baruch and once by Jehudi.

<sup>33</sup> T. Römer, “The Formation of the Book of Jeremiah as a Supplement to the So-Called Deuteronomistic History,” in *The Production of Prophecy. Constructing Prophecy and Prophets in Yehud* (ed. D. V. Edelman and E. Ben Zvi; BibleWorld; London/Oakville, Conn.: Equinox, 2009), 168-183.

tor. After that the text of Kings and both versions of Jeremiah were supplemented by other additions also in dtr phraseology.<sup>34</sup> Be that as it may,<sup>35</sup> we have to understand this redactional activity as the will to integrate the book of Jeremiah into a dtr library,<sup>36</sup> by giving it an end similar to the DtrH. Interestingly, the Talmud considers Jeremiah to be the author of the book of Kings, which reflects an awareness of the stylistic and theological links between the two books.

The link between historiography and prophetic tradition is also reinforced by the integration of prophetic narratives into the DtrH in the Persian period in order to foster the prophetic character of the book (McKenzie, Otto).<sup>37</sup> These stories often have a prophet confront a king and claim that prophetic authority stands above royal authority. Prophetic authority culminates in the figure of Elijah, who is constructed as a second Moses: He travels forty days and nights to Horeb, the mountain of God (1 Kgs 19) and like Moses in Exodus 33, he is granted a private theophany. This theophany even criticizes or corrects the Mosaic one contrary to the Sinai theophany, Yhwh does not appear with thunder and lightning and earthquake but in “a sound of sheer silence” (1 Kgs 19:12). In the end, Elijah surpasses Moses. The latter’s death is more than remarkable since he is buried by Yhwh himself and his grave remains unknown. Elijah, however, does not experience death but ascends to heaven in a whirlwind (2 Kgs 2). One may ask if the integration of the prophetic texts into the book of Kings tries to transform the DtrH into the first part of a history, which is followed by a collection of prophetic books. The Isaiah story in 2 Kgs 18-20, which has a parallel in Isa 36-39, also binds together the book of Kings with the prophetic scrolls.

Thus in the Persian period, the DtrH became more and more related to a collection of prophetic books and this explains the fact that after the dismantling of the DtrH Joshua-Kings could become the first part of the Prophets.

<sup>34</sup> R. F. Person Jr., “II Kings 24,18-25,30 and Jeremiah 52: A Text-Critical Case Study in the Redaction History of the Deuteronomistic History,” *ZAW* 105 (1993): 174-205.

<sup>35</sup> Fischer considers that Jer 52MT is the older text and depends on 2 Kgs 24-25: G. Fischer, “Les deux faces de Jérémie 52,” *ETR* 74 (1999): 481-489; idem, “Jeremiah 52: A Test Case for Jer LXX,” in *X Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies. Oslo 1998* (ed. B. A. Taylor; SBLSCS 51; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2001), 37-48.

<sup>36</sup> See also N. Lohfink, “Gab es eine deuteronomische Bewegung?” in *Jeremia und die »deuteronomistische Bewegung«* (ed. W. Gross; BBB 98; Weinheim: Beltz Athenäum Verlag, 1995), 313-382, 360. This passage is unfortunately lacking in the shorter version of the English translation of Lohfink’s very important piece: N. Lohfink, “Was There a Deuteronomistic Movement?” in *Those Elusive Deuteronomists. The Phenomenon of Pan-Deuteronomism* (ed. L. S. Schearing and S. L. McKenzie; JSOTSup 268; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), 36-66.

<sup>37</sup> S. L. McKenzie, *The Trouble with Kings. The Composition of the Books of Kings in the Deuteronomistic History* (VTSup 42; Leiden/Boston: Brill, 1991); S. Otto, “The Composition of the Elijah-Elisha Stories and the Deuteronomistic History,” *JSOT* 27 (2003): 487-508.

#### 2.4. *Hexateuch or Pentateuch?*

The decision to promulgate the Pentateuch in the middle of the Persian period was in a certain sense also taken in an anti-eschatological perspective. As already observed by Frank Crüsemann, the Torah does not allot much space to prophecy of salvation.<sup>38</sup> It is mainly the work of a compromise between the priestly and the dtr circles. In my view the Pentateuch was due to the decision to separate the book of Deuteronomy from the books of Joshua to Kings, to combine with the pre-priestly and priestly traditions in Gen-Exod\* and to make it the end of the Torah.<sup>39</sup>

There are a few hints to the existence also of the project of a Hexateuch, which would have the “Torah” end with the book of Joshua. As often observed, the last chapter of Joshua (Josh 24) clearly presents itself as the conclusion of a Hexateuch,<sup>40</sup> and a Hexateuch would certainly also have been acceptable to the Samaritans (see especially the location of Joshua’s final discourse in Shechem). Biblical research has until today neglected the question of the role and the participation of the Samaritan authorities with regard to the process that led to the promulgation of the Torah. One may imagine that there was a minority coalition of priests and lay people, which may have included Samaritan authorities, a coalition, which might have been in favor of Israel’s political restoration.

There is indeed a major ideological difference between a Penta- and a Hexateuch. The theological focus of the Hexateuch is undoubtedly the land, promised by Yhwh to the Patriarchs and conquered by Joshua. A Hexateuch would have constructed a post-exilic identity centered on the possession or the claim of the land. For political, sociological and theological reasons such an idea was difficult to maintain. The majority of the Judean intellectuals accepted Judah’s integration in the Persian Empire and would have been unhappy with a foundation document that ends with a narration of a military conquest of regions that did not even belong to the provinces of Yehud and Samaria. For the members of the Babylonian—but also Egyptian—Diaspora the idea that living in the land is a constitutive part of Jewish identity was unacceptable.

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<sup>38</sup> F. Crüsemann, “Das ‘portative Vaterland.’ Struktur und Genese des alttestamentlichen Kanons,” in *Kanon und Zensur. Beiträge zur Archäologie der literarischen Kommunikation II* (ed. A. and J. Assmann; München: Fink, 1987), 63-79.

<sup>39</sup> The book of Numbers would then have been created as a bridge of a sort between the “Triateuch” and the book of Deuteronomy, see T. Römer, “Israel’s Sojourn in the Wilderness and the Construction of the Book of Numbers,” in *Reflection and Refraction* (ed. Rezetko, Lim, and Aucker), 419-445.

<sup>40</sup> E. Blum, “Der kompositionelle Knoten am Übergang von Josua zu Richter. Ein Entflechtungsvorschlag,” in *Deuteronomy and Deuteronomistic Literature. Festschrift C. H. W. Breckelmans* (ed. M. Vervenne and J. Lust; BETL 133; Leuven: University Press/Peeters, 1997), 181-212; T. Römer and M. Z. Brettler, “Deuteronomy 34 and the Case for a Persian Hexateuch,” *JBL* 119 (2000): 401-419.

The central figure and concern of the Pentateuch are Moses and the Law of which he is the mediator. Theologically, the Pentateuch has an open end: Moses is allowed to contemplate the land, which he will not enter. The divine promise is repeated in Deut 34, but inside the Torah it is not fulfilled. This literary strategy opens different possibilities to understand the fulfillment of the promise, which can be read as fulfilled (with the arrival of the Achaemenids) or still to be accomplished in a more eschatological sense. The story of Moses' death outside the land clearly betrays a Diaspora perspective. It is a message to the Jews of the Diaspora who were very concerned about a sepulcher in the land. Probably since the Persian period wealthy Jews were very eager to be buried in Jerusalem or in the "land of their ancestors." Against this practice, Deut 34 claims that one may live and die outside the land, as long as one respects the Mosaic Torah. Moses becomes thus a symbol for an exilic identity, based on the reading and observance of the Law.

### 2.5. *From Deuteronomistic History to the Former Prophets*

When the book of Deuteronomy was separated from the following books the DtrH came to an end. Apparently the books of Joshua to Kings were now kept as sorts of "deuterocanonical" books in a constantly growing prophetic library.

The book of Kings being part of the *Nebiim*, 2 Kings 25 was not anymore an absolute ending but more as a transition to the prophetic oracles, which contained all the prophecies of doom to which Israel and Judah had not listened; but the oracles of judgment are followed by oracles of restoration, so that the history from the conquest to the loss of the land is followed by an eschatological perspective.<sup>41</sup>

The tradition from doom to salvation and then again back to a more critical view is demonstrated in the book of Isaiah which opens according to the majority of witnesses the collection of the Latter Prophets. After the oracles of judgment that dominate in the Proto-Isaiah, texts in Deutero-Isaiah claim that Yhwh's anger does not last for a long time ("For a brief moment I abandoned you, but with great compassion I will gather you. In overflowing wrath for a moment I hid my face from you, but with everlasting love I will have compassion on you, says Yhwh, your Redeemer." 53:7-8) but that this time of wrath has definitely come to an end. The crisis is here a turning point towards a new creation, the arrival of Cyrus being compared to a messianic era.

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<sup>41</sup> K. Schmid, "Une grande historiographie allant de Genèse à 2 Rois a-t-elle un jour existé?" in *Les dernières rédactions du Pentateuque, de l'Hexateuque et de l'Ennéateuque* (ed. T. Römer and K. Schmid; BETL 203; Leuven: Peeters, 2007), 35-46, 42-43.



Interestingly the attitude of the author(s) of Isa 40-55 is to take over the official rhetoric of the Cyrus cylinder and to proclaim him, by doing so, Yhwh's messiah for Israel and the world.

<i>Cyrus Cylinder</i>	<i>Deutero-Isaiah</i>
(12) He (Marduk) took the hand of Cyrus, ...	(45:1) Cyrus, whose right hand I took
and called him by his name	(45:3) I, Yhwh, the God of Israel, call you by your name
(13) He made the land of Guti and all the Median troops prostrate themselves at his feet	(45:1) to subdue nations before him
while he shepherded in justice and righteousness the black-headed people	(44:28) who says of Cyrus, 'He is my Shepherd.'
(13) like a friend and companion, he (Marduk) walked at his side.	(45:2) I will walk before you.
(32) I collected together all of their people and returned them to their settlements.	(45:13) I have aroused Cyrus ... and I will make all his paths straight; he shall build my city and set my exiles free.

The Persian ruler is praised as Yhwh's liberator who will initiate a new future, which according to another passage shall make forget the "former events":

<sup>16</sup> Thus says Yhwh, who makes a way in the sea, a path in the mighty waters, <sup>17</sup> who brings out chariot and horse, army and warrior; they lie down, they cannot rise, they are extinguished, quenched like a wick: <sup>18</sup> Do not remember the former things, or consider the things of old. <sup>19</sup> I am about to do a new thing; now it springs forth, do you not perceive it? I will make a way in the wilderness and rivers in the desert. <sup>20</sup> The wild animals will honor me, the jackals and the ostriches; for I give water in the wilderness, rivers in the desert, to give drink to my chosen people, <sup>21</sup> the people whom I formed for myself so that they might declare my praise. (Isa 43:16-21)

According to Jean-Daniel Macchi this passage was added to the book of Isaiah in the 5<sup>th</sup> or 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C.E. into the Isaianic corpus.<sup>42</sup> The "first things" (ראשונות) allude to the divine judgments and especially to the destruction of Jerusalem. The author claims that they are not worth any longer to be remembered since a new era has arrived and the page of remembering the past can now be turned. This is in fact an anti-dtr position, because, as we will point out, for the Dtrs the fall of Jerusalem and the exile are at the very center of their theological reflection.

Contrary to Deutero-Isaiah where the new era that follows the crisis is understood to happen immediately, the last chapters of the book, often called

<sup>42</sup> J.-D. Macchi, "'Ne ressassez plus les choses d'autrefois.' Esaïe 43,16-21, un surprenant regard deutéro-ésaïen sur le passé," *ZAW* 121 (2009): 225-241.

Trito-Isaiah adopt a more realistic attitude, and claim that salvation also depends on the right ethical behavior. Another strategy may be detected in the fact that the majority of the prophetic books underwent an “eschatological” or a “salvation” oriented redaction, which often added a new positive ending to the scrolls suggesting that the oracles of doom had been realized and that the disaster can now open to a better future. This is for instance the case of the book of Amos in which the two last verses announce the restoration of Yhwh’s people in their land, or equally the book of Joel, which ends with the promise that Judah and Jerusalem will be inhabited forever and that Yhwh will dwell on his holy mountain.<sup>43</sup> This revision continued until the Hellenistic period or even into the Maccabean period, as shown by the additions to the book of Jeremiah. The most obvious case is Jer 33:14-26 which is missing in the LXX and which summarizes important themes of salvation, as David, the Patriarchs and priesthood.<sup>44</sup> It is unclear, whether the text reflects a concrete situation or a more general expectation of a global restoration. One may conclude that many prophetic books were revised during the Persian and Hellenistic periods in an eschatological perspective; this may partially be understood as a reaction to the fact that the revolutionary announcement of a paradise-like situation in Deutero-Isaiah did not come true.

## 2.6. *The relation between Pentateuch and Prophets*

But there is also the attempt to relate the *Nebiim* to the Torah and to underline their deutero-canonical character in regard to the Torah. Thus, in the opening chapter of the book of Joshua, the latter receives the command to “meditate upon” or “recite” (הגה) day and night the “book of the Law” (ספר התורה) of Moses:

<sup>7</sup> Indeed, be strong and very courageous, so as to act in accordance with all [the Torah—missing in the LXX] that my servant Moses commanded you; do not turn from it to the right hand or to the left, so that you may be successful wherever you go. <sup>8</sup> This book of the Torah shall not depart from your mouth, and you shall recite it day and night in order to observe and do all what is written in it: for thus you will make your way prosperous, thus you will succeed. (Josh 1:7-8)

<sup>43</sup> J. Wöhrle, *Die frühen Sammlungen des Zwölfprophetenbuches. Entstehung und Komposition* (BZAW 360; Berlin/New York: de Gruyter, 2006), 119-122, 453-456.

<sup>44</sup> A. Schenker, “La rédaction longue du livre de Jérémie doit-elle être datée au temps des premiers Hasmonéens?” *ETL* 70 (1994): 281-293; P. Piovanelli, “JrB 33,14-26 ou la continuité des institutions à l’époque maccabéenne,” in *The Book of Jeremiah and Its Reception* (ed. A. H. W. Curtis and T. Römer; BETL 128; Leuven: University Press/Peeters, 1997), 255-276.

This passage comprising vv. 7-9 was interpolated in Josh 1 through the repetition, in v. 7a, of the beginning of v. 6 (“Be strong and courageous...”), which concluded Yhwh’s exhortation to lead the conquest of the land in vv. 2-5.<sup>45</sup>

Historiography and prophetic literature are from now on under the authority of the Mosaic Law to which both are related.

On the other hand, the Prophets are now framed by the mention of Moses, which appears at the end of Malachi, a passage which works a “compromise” of sorts between “Moses” and the “Prophets.”

<sup>22</sup> Remember the Torah of Moses, my servant, that I commanded him for all Israel—statutes and ordinances. <sup>23</sup> Lo, I will send you the prophet Elijah<sup>46</sup> before the great and terrible Day of Yhwh comes, <sup>24</sup> he will turn the heart of the father towards their sons, and the heart of the sons towards their fathers,<sup>47</sup> so that I will not come and strike the land with a *herem*. (Mal 3:22-24)

The opening of Mal 3:22 MT (4:6 LXX) alludes to the insert in Josh 1:7-9 (see above); the two passages frame the *Nebiim*.<sup>48</sup> The passage Mal 3:22-24 MT<sup>49</sup> may be dated to the period around 250-200 B.C.E.; a *terminus ad quem* is given by Sir 48:10, which quotes Mal 3:23-24, as well by 4QXIIa (150–125 B.C.E.), where a fragment of Mal 3:24 has been preserved. The MT is probably older than the LXX, where the reference to Moses’ Torah is placed after the reference to Elijah’s return.<sup>50</sup> The position of the book of Malachi at the end of the *Nebiim*, together with the inclusion between Mal 3:22 MT and Josh 1:7-9, does not necessarily indicate that the prophetic canon was already “closed” at the end of the Persian or the beginning of the

<sup>45</sup> R. Smend, “Das Gesetz und die Völker. Ein Beitrag zur deuteronomistischen Redaktionsgeschichte,” in *Probleme biblischer Theologie. G. von Rad zum 70. Geburtstag* (ed. H. W. Wolff; München: Kaiser, 1971), 494-509. English translation: “The Law and the Nations. A Contribution to Deuteronomistic Tradition History,” in *Reconsidering Israel and Judah. Recent Studies on the Deuteronomistic History* (ed. G. N. Knoppers and J. G. McConville; Sources for Biblical and Theological Study 8; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2000), 95-110.

<sup>46</sup> LXX: “Elijah the Tishbite.”

<sup>47</sup> LXX: “the heart of each man towards his neighbor.”

<sup>48</sup> J. Wöhrle, *Der Abschluss des Zwölfprophetenbuchs. Buchübergreifende Redaktionsprozesse in den späten Sammlungen* (BZAW 389; Berlin/New York: de Gruyter, 2008), 421-427.

<sup>49</sup> I. Himbaza, “La finale de Malachie sur Elie (Ml 3,23-24). Son influence sur le livre de Malachie et son impact sur la littérature postérieure,” in *Un carrefour dans l’histoire de la Bible. Du texte à la théologie au I<sup>er</sup> siècle avant J.-C.* (ed. I. Himbaza and A. Schenker; OBO 233; Fribourg: Academic Press; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2007), 21-44.

<sup>50</sup> Placing the reference to Moses at the end of the passage in the Greek tradition may have been motivated by the willingness to avoid concluding the book of Malachi with a word of judgment and condemnation (חרם, “ban” or “destruction”), see A. Meinhold, *Maleachi* (BKAT 14/8; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 2006), 402.

Hellenistic period.<sup>51</sup> In the 4QXIIa fragments Mal 3 was apparently not the conclusion of the *Nebiim* and was followed perhaps by the scroll of Jonah. Nevertheless the ending of Malachi clearly underlines that (at least until the eschatological return of Elijah) the Mosaic Torah is absolutely normative<sup>52</sup> and the Prophets, which consist of the Former DtrH and the prophetic scrolls, must be read and understood in the light of the Mosaic Torah.

### 3. Conclusion

The present investigation has shown how the DtrH underwent an important redaction in the beginning of the Persian period. The Persian period edition of the books of Deuteronomy to Kings revised the former history in order to make it suitable for the situation of the (Babylonian) Golah. At the same time the DtrH was more and more linked with prophetic scrolls, starting with Jeremiah, probably also with Isaiah and books of the *Dodekapropheton*. In the middle of the Persian period, the book of Deuteronomy became the conclusion of the Torah and the DtrH was truncated. The books of Joshua to Kings were now kept together with the most prophetic scrolls and became the first part of the *Nebiim*. The coherence of the new collection was underlined by Josh 1:7-9 and Mal 3:22-24. These passages are conceived as a frame around the *Nebiim* and also as an indication that the *Nebiim* only make sense when they are aligned to the Torah.

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<sup>51</sup> Steck, *Abschluss der Prophetie*.

<sup>52</sup> The same phenomenon can be observed for the *Ketubim* in the beginning of the Psalter that places the whole Psalter or the whole Writings under the authority of the Torah. See A. Rofé, "Piety of the Torah-Disciples at the Winding-Up the Hebrew Bible: Josh 1:8, Ps 1:2, Isa 59:21," in *Bibel in jüdischer und christlicher Tradition. Festschrift für Johann Maier zum 60. Geburtstag* (ed. H. Merklein, K. Müller, and G. Stemberg; BBB 88; Frankfurt a. M.: Anton Hain, 1993), 78-85.

## THE TIBERIAN VOCALIZATION AND THE EDITION OF THE HEBREW BIBLE TEXT

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The most complete and most prestigious manuscripts of the Hebrew Bible come to us with Tiberian vocalization and accentuation. Since the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the Hebrew Bible has normally been printed with the pointing, and more recent scientific editions have carried on with this habit. Most biblical scholars have studied Hebrew from the start as it is represented in the Codex *Leningradensis*, with vowels and accents. Fortunately so, one may be tempted to add: imagine studying Hebrew on the basis of the consonantal text only; imagine trying to teach it to one's students. The Tiberian pointing is a useful tool in biblical studies. But is it only useful? Is it not authoritative too? According to traditional Jewish belief, the vowels and accents were communicated to Moses on Sinai (strictly speaking this is valid only for the Pentateuch, of course).<sup>1</sup> Critical scholars do not accept this claim. Nevertheless, they too give much weight to the pointing, respecting the tradition it represents. They will reject it only when they are forced to.

The authority of the Tiberian pointing has been discussed since the Middle Ages.<sup>2</sup> In our time, the idea of a critical edition of the Hebrew Bible has given urgency to this issue. It has been hotly debated with regard to the Oxford Hebrew Bible, among both its participants (to which the present writer belongs) and its critics. Is it legitimate to include the traditional vocalization and accentuation in an eclectic edition? Two rather asymmetric positions have been defended. Several scholars have argued that the reconstruction of a text type hailing from Antiquity should not be vocalized, since no vocalization systems were in existence when this text type came into existence.<sup>3</sup> Against this, others have underscored that an edition of the

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<sup>1</sup> See C. D. Ginsburg, *The Massoreth ha-Massoreth of Elias Levita* (London: Longmans, Green, Reader & Dyer, 1867), 48. The earliest authority quoted by Ginsburg to establish this doctrine is the Zohar (13<sup>th</sup> century).

<sup>2</sup> See the overview in D. Barthélemy, *Critique textuelle de l'Ancien Testament*, vol. 1: *Josué, Juges, Ruth, Samuel, Rois, Chroniques, Esdras, Néhémie, Esther* (OBO 50/1; Fribourg: Editions universitaires; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1982), \*5-\*12.

<sup>3</sup> See, e.g., H. G. M. Williamson, "Do We Need A New Bible? Reflections on the Proposed Oxford Hebrew Bible," *Bib* 90 (2009): 153-175; Z. Talshir, "Textual Criticism at the Service of Literary Criticism and the Question of an Eclectic Edition of the Hebrew Bible," in *After Qumran. Old and Modern Editions of the Biblical Texts – The Historical Books* (ed. H. Ausloos, B. Lemmelijn, and J. Treballe Barrera; BETL 246; Leuven: Peeters, 2012), 33-60.

Hebrew text printed without vowels would not widely be used.<sup>4</sup> The compromise within the OHB project has been to view the pointing as “accidentals” (i.e., to give them the same status as punctuation and orthography in a manuscript of a play of Shakespeare) and to treat them according to the “copy text” principle. In practice, this means editors will adopt the vowels as long as the critical text is identical with the Leningrad Codex, while printing the Hebrew unpointed wherever the eclectic text diverges from L.

The OHB compromise has been criticized from various quarters.<sup>5</sup> Notably, Eibert Tigchelaar has objected that Hebrew vowels are hardly to be regarded as “accidentals.” This eminently reasonable remark makes it hard to invoke the “copy text” principle. In the present paper, I will defend the thesis that the Tiberian vocalization merits a place in a critical edition of the Hebrew Bible not mainly for its usefulness, but because it transmits authentic information that cannot be derived from the mere consonantal framework.

The Massoretic accents present a profile similar to that of the vocalization. Nonetheless, I will confine the discussion to the vowels for the time being, and leave the accents for another occasion.

### *1. History of research: a brief review*

The study of Hebrew vocalization systems has involved famous controversies that have not entirely been resolved, but continue, sometimes indirectly and subliminally, to influence present-day attitudes. Let us therefore quickly review some key issues discussed in the history of research.

#### *1.1. The age of vocalization systems and their application to biblical manuscripts*

Historical study of the Massoretic vocalization starts in 1538 with the publication of Elias Levita’s *Massoret ha-Massoret*. Against the common opinion of his time,<sup>6</sup> Levita established that the Tiberian pointing of the

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<sup>4</sup> The so-called “Polychrome Bible” published under the general editorship of Paul Haupt at the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> century was a full eclectic edition of the Hebrew Bible. It was published with a short apparatus and an excellent textual commentary, but without vowels. It was never widely used as a critical text.

<sup>5</sup> See in particular Williamson, “Do We Need A New Bible?”; E. Tigchelaar, “Editing the Hebrew Bible: An Overview of Some Problems,” in *Editing the Bible: Assessing the Task Past and Present* (ed. J. Kloppenborg and J. H. Newman; SBLRBS 69; Atlanta, Ga.: Society of Biblical Literature, 2012), 41-65.

<sup>6</sup> Even before Levita, some scholars had known that the Massoretic vowels were not part of the earliest text of the Bible, see Barthélemy, *Critique textuelle*, vol. 1, \*11 (Barthélemy mentions Nicholas of Lyra, 13-14<sup>th</sup> century).

Hebrew Bible was not “revealed on Sinai” but invented much more recently, around the beginning of the 6<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>7</sup> Levita’s argument was fully accepted by Louis Cappel and other great Hebraists of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. But it was vigorously combated by the elder and younger Buxtorf, who held on to the traditional idea that the vowel points went back to the original autographs of scripture. The question unfortunately became entangled in dogmatic opposition between Protestants and Catholics. In the end, however, the historical approach inaugurated by Levita carried the day.<sup>8</sup>

Indeed, as we all know today, the earliest biblical manuscripts have no vowel pointing. Even the Talmud has no knowledge of vocalization systems. Only from the 9<sup>th</sup> century onward, are fully developed systems of pointing attested in biblical manuscripts. The earliest dated manuscript with vocalization is dated to the year 916 (the St. Petersburg Codex of the Prophets). On the basis of these data, it is generally estimated that the Jewish supra- and infra-linear vocalization systems were created from the 6<sup>th</sup> or 7<sup>th</sup> century onward.<sup>9</sup> The Jewish systems most probably developed from Syriac (Nestorian) musters, but they soon surpassed all earlier methods in complexity and phonological accuracy. Three or four different systems are attested, each with its own sub-variants. Only the Tiberian vocalization continued to be used in biblical manuscripts beyond the late Middle Ages.

### *1.2. The origin of the information encoded in the pointing of biblical manuscripts*

While the graphic representation of the vowels is late, this fact does not by itself tell us anything on the age of the phonological substance encoded. Levita himself was convinced that although the signs were late, the pronunciation they denote was known by the Jews from remotest antiquity, and represents the true and genuine reading as it came from the inspired writers.<sup>10</sup> Cappel agreed with Levita that the Massoretic signs were designed to encode the traditional reading of the sacred text.<sup>11</sup> In the course of his text-critical studies, however, Cappel noted many places where the Septuagint or other ancient witnesses reflect a vocalization diverging from the Tiberian one. Consequently, he argued for a critical approach, which should test every reading on its merits. On this point Cappel went well beyond Levita. Other, less learned, Hebraists went overboard and rejected the authority of the Tiberian vocalization altogether, sometimes going so far as to suggest that

<sup>7</sup> Ginsburg, *Massoreth ha-Massoreth*, 121-123.

<sup>8</sup> Barthélemy, *Critique textuelle*, vol. 1, \*10-\*12.

<sup>9</sup> For an overview, see A. Sáenz-Badillos, *A History of the Hebrew Language* (trans. J. Elwolde; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 86-111.

<sup>10</sup> Ginsburg, *Massoreth ha-Massoreth*, 112.

<sup>11</sup> L. Cappelus, *Arcanum punctuationis revelatum* (Leiden: Thomas Erpenius, 1624). See the quote from this work in Ginsburg, *Massoreth ha-Massoreth*, 56.

Jews had falsified the Scriptures for their own purposes.<sup>12</sup>

The controversy was revived in a different form in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Paul Kahle, in a memorable paper read at the *Deutsche Orientalistentag* in Leipzig in 1921, argued that the Tiberian pointing reflects, in many respects, not the traditional reading of the Bible, but the grammatical theory of the Massoretes.<sup>13</sup> Gotthelf Bergsträsser opposed Kahle's ideas, starting at the *Orientalistentag* itself,<sup>14</sup> arguing that Tiberian Hebrew accords far too much with historical-comparative evidence to be a free invention of the 8<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> century. Later research proved that Kahle had been wrong on many points of detail.<sup>15</sup> Kahle never recanted, however. In his book *The Cairo Geniza* (1959) he reiterated his position, adding new arguments.<sup>16</sup> And his influence continues to be felt in works of Garbini, Beyer, and others.<sup>17</sup> In his manual of Biblical Hebrew of 1994, Rüdiger Bartelmus still defends Kahle's approach explicitly.<sup>18</sup>

### 1.3. Tiberian and other vocalization systems of biblical Hebrew

The main arguments fielded by Kahle relate to divergences between Tiberian and non-Tiberian witnesses to the vocalization of the Bible. Origen's second column, Jerome's transcriptions, and Geniza fragments with "Palestinian" pointing, diverge substantially from the Tiberian, as does the vocalization presupposed in the consonantal text of the MT itself. For Kahle, many of these divergences showed that the Tiberian vocalization must be wrong.

More recent research—by Einar Brønno on the *secunda*, by John Revell on the Palestinian supra-linear system, by James Barr on Jerome's transcript-

<sup>12</sup> See Barthélemy, *Critique textuelle*, vol. 1, \*10-\*12.

<sup>13</sup> See P. Kahle, "Die überlieferte Aussprache des Hebräischen und die Punktation der Masoreten," *ZAW* 39 (1921): 220-239. Note the following statement: "Ich glaube nun den Nachweis führen zu können, daß ein großer Teil dieser Bedenken berechtigt ist, und daß wir uns ganz allgemein mit der Tatsache abzufinden haben, daß in der masoretischen Punktation, insbesondere in der tiberischen, nicht einfach die etwa im 6.-8. christlichen Jahrhundert übliche Aussprache des Hebräischen festgehalten wurde, sondern daß in ihr vielfach eine von den Masoreten – natürlich in bester Absicht – vorgenommene Korrektur dieser Aussprache vorliegt. Diese Punktation gibt also – so meine ich – in vieler Hinsicht nicht an, wie tatsächlich gesprochen wurde, sondern wie – der Ansicht der Masoreten nach – korrekterweise gesprochen werden müßte" (232).

<sup>14</sup> See E. Y. Kutscher, *The Language and Linguistic Background of the Isaiah Scroll (1QIsa<sup>a</sup>)* (STDJ 6; Leiden: Brill, 1974), 45-46.

<sup>15</sup> Kutscher, *Isaiah Scroll*, 45-46; J. Blau, *Phonology and Morphology of Biblical Hebrew. An Introduction* (Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2010), 80-81. See also note 19.

<sup>16</sup> See P. Kahle, *The Cairo Geniza* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.; Oxford: Blackwell, 1959), 164-188.

<sup>17</sup> See, e.g., G. Garbini, *Il Semitico di Nord-Ovest* (Naples: Istituto Universitario Orientale, 1960); K. Beyer, *Althebräische Grammatik. Laut- und Formenlehre* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1969).

<sup>18</sup> R. Bartelmus, *Einführung in das Biblische Hebräisch* (Zürich: Theologischer Verlag Zürich, 1994), 20-22.



tions<sup>19</sup>—showed that Kahle’s judgments were often problematic: forms he identified as earlier than their Tiberian counterpart proved to be later, and some divergences he observed turned out to be due to difficulties in transcribing Hebrew into Greek or Latin. No one contests the existence of varying systems of vocalization as such, however. Even the closely allied Babylonian and Tiberian systems differ in many respects. Notably, the Babylonian pointing has only one sign corresponding to Tiberian and Palestinian *patah* and *segol*. The divergences with other systems are more considerable.

Such variation, however, does not necessarily show that any of the attested systems is the product of artificial theories. Differences may be due to distinct stylistic registers (e.g., spoken versus literary),<sup>20</sup> variations of age (e.g., second temple Hebrew versus Hebrew of the post-destruction era), or dialectal diversity (e.g., the dialect of Jerusalem versus a more northern dialect). The discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls has been important in this respect. Close study of the language of the Scrolls has fostered the idea that Hebrew, when it was still a living language, was known in different, contemporary dialects.<sup>21</sup> The different traditions of vocalization may link up with these dialects.

#### 1.4. Variant readings expressed in the vocalization

Some of the variant vocalizations, of course, are not linguistic but textual in nature: they do not affect only the way the word is pronounced, but also what it means. It has already been mentioned that Cappel discovered many such variants by comparing the MT with the Septuagint. But similar variants exist also between the Hebrew traditions.

An interesting example illustrating both the linguistic and textual aspect is the vocalization of the word read וַיִּדְבֹּר “and he subdued” in the MT of Ps 18:48 but ουεδαββερ in Origen’s second column. The distinct forms of the *waw*, vocalized *wa-* in the MT but *u-* in the *secunda*, probably reflect a dialectal or language-historical difference. While MT differentiates between “strong” *waw*, used when the prefix conjugation has a preterit meaning, and “weak” *waw* used when the meaning is future, the dialect reflected in the

<sup>19</sup> See L. L. Grabbe, *Comparative Philology and the Text of Job: A Study in Methodology* (Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press, 1977), 179-197.

<sup>20</sup> Kutscher, *Isaiah Scroll*, 46.

<sup>21</sup> See E. Qimron, “Observations on the History of Early Hebrew (1000 B.C.E.-200 C.E.) in the Light of the Dead Sea Documents,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Forty Years of Research* (ed. D. Dimant, U. Rappaport; STDJ 10; Leiden/Jerusalem: Brill/Magnes Press, 1992), 349-361; Z. Ben-Hayyim, *A Grammar of Samaritan Hebrew. Based on the Recitation of the Law in Comparison with the Tiberian and Other Jewish Traditions* (Jerusalem/Winona Lake, Ind.: Magnes Press/Eisenbrauns, 2000); A. E. Yuditsky, *The Grammar of the Hebrew of Origen’s Transliterations* (Jerusalem: Academy of the Hebrew Language, forthcoming) [in Hebrew].

*secunda* does not make this distinction.<sup>22</sup> The divergent vocalization of the verbal form, however, almost certainly flows from textual variation. Where the MT reads a *hiphil* form, the *secunda* has the *piel*.

Textual variations like these do not invalidate the traditions transmitting the variants. They are to be treated in the same way as variants expressed in the consonantal text.

### 1.5. Concluding remarks

A majority of Hebraists subscribe to the idea that the Tiberian vocalization represents an authentic oral reading tradition transmitted among the Jews for many generations before it was written down. The Tiberian vocalization meticulously encodes a very old and dependable oral tradition.<sup>23</sup> It is not infallible, however. It is to be studied in conjunction with other traditions: transcriptions in the Septuagint and patristic writings, Origen's second column, medieval manuscripts with Babylonian, Palestinian and "mixed" pointing, and the Samaritan reading tradition of the Pentateuch, should all be taken into account. None of the non-Tiberian witnesses are available for the entire biblical corpus. They are also generally of lesser quality than the Tiberian, in regard to both the accuracy with which they encode phonological information, and the antiquity of the tradition upon which they rest. Nevertheless, in this field as in others, the race is not to the swift: the non-Tiberian systems may occasionally transmit variants that are to be preferred.

In a way, the Tiberian vocalization is not unlike the consonantal MT: it faithfully reflects old tradition, but needs nevertheless to be approached critically.

## 2. Secondary vocalizations in the Tiberian tradition

Although the Tiberian vocalization globally reflects early tradition, all authorities agree that it contains a number of readings that are clearly secondary. In what follows, four different categories will be illustrated with an example and briefly discussed: midrashic alterations, grammatical modernizations, forgotten words, and miscellanea. The question when the secondary readings came into being is of special interest since it may inform us on the age of the Tiberian tradition as a whole. In what follows, this question will be addressed repeatedly.

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<sup>22</sup> To be more precise, the dialect reflected in the *secunda* does not systematically make this distinction. For discussion, see Yuditsky, *The Grammar*, § 3.5.3.

<sup>23</sup> See now the admirable overview of G. A. Khan, *A Short Introduction to the Tiberian Masoretic Bible and its Reading Tradition* (Piscataway, N.J.: Gorgias, 2012).

### 2.1. Midrashic alterations

In a number of passages, the vocalization appears to have been altered for religious or exegetical reasons. Cases were first collected by Abraham Geiger in 1857.<sup>24</sup> A relatively certain instance is:

Isa 1:12

כִּי תִבְאוּ לִרְאוֹת פָּנַי מִי־בִקֵּשׁ זֹאת מִיָּדְכֶם

When ye come to appear before me, who hath required this at your hand?

Literally, the Hebrew means “to be seen my face,” which is awkward. Instead of the *niphal*, it seems originally the *qal* לִרְאוֹת was meant. This was changed because it suggested too corporal an image of God.<sup>25</sup> A similar alteration was made also in Exod 34:24 and Deut 31:11.

Another example from the prophets is the “queen of heaven” in the book of Jeremiah (Jer 7:18; 44[LXX 51]:17.18.19.25), whose name is systematically vocalized, in the MT, as הַשָּׁמַיִם מְלִכָּה, suggesting the meaning “the host (מְלִכָּה *status constructus* of מְלָאכָה “work, creation”) of heaven,” certainly for theological reasons.<sup>26</sup>

The date of such corrections can be approximately determined when other textual witnesses confirm them. The reading לִרְאוֹת in Isa 1:12, Exod 34:24 and Deut 31:11 is reflected in all three places in the Septuagint. Since the reading is quite forced grammatically, particularly in the Isaiah passage, there is little chance that its attestation at once in the MT and in the Septuagint is due to polygenesis. An old reading tradition must lie at the basis of both. Similarly, in Jeremiah, the reading “host of heaven” is already attested in the Septuagint of Jer 7:18, τῇ στρατιᾷ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ “to the host of heaven”; in the other passages, situated in the second part of Jeremiah, the Greek has τῇ βασιλίσσῃ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ “to the queen of heaven”. The Peshitta also knows both readings, but distributes them differently: the prophet and the men of Judah say *pulhān šmayyā*, “service of heaven” (7:18; 44:17.18.25); but the women call her *malkat šmayyā* “queen of heaven” (44:19).

Some of the altered vocalizations are not reflected in other witnesses, however. Such cases are hard to date: they may be old, as similar cases demonstrably are, but they may also have arisen in late Antiquity or the Middle Ages:

<sup>24</sup> A. Geiger, *Urschrift und Übersetzungen der Bibel in ihrer Abhängigkeit von der innern Entwicklung des Judentums* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.; Frankfurt a. M.: Verlag Mada, 1928).

<sup>25</sup> See the discussion in D. Barthélemy, *Critique textuelle de l'Ancien Testament*, vol. 2: *Isaïe, Jérémie, Lamentations* (OBO 50/2; Fribourg: Editions universitaires; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1986), 3-5.

<sup>26</sup> See BHS.

Isa 66:21

וְגַם־מֵהֶם אֶקַּח לְכֹהֲנִים לְלוֹיִם

I will take some of them (i.e., probably, those of the nations) *for* the priests and the Levites.

All ancient versions read here, as is indeed most natural: לְלוֹיִם and לְכֹהֲנִים, without article:

LXX: καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν λήμψομαι ἑμοὶ ἱερεῖς καὶ Λευίτας

Tg: ואף מנהון אקריב למהוי כהניא ליואי

"From them too I will take some *to be* priests (and) Levites."

The Tiberian reading, with the article, is probably a midrashic alteration seeking to avoid the suggestion that God would, in the eschaton, choose priests from among the nations. The earliest echo of the Tiberian vocalization is found, unless I err, in medieval commentaries such as that of David Qimhi (לְצוּרֵךְ הכוהנים "for the needs of the priests"). But again, this does not prove the vocalization arose in the Middle Ages. The first echoes are only a date *ad quem*.

## 2.2. Grammatical modernizations

In other cases, the vocalization was altered for grammatical reasons. The old Hebrew morphology presupposed by the consonantal text was overlaid by a more recent system. Although single cases had been pointed out earlier, the first scholar who came to an adequate understanding of this phenomenon was Mayer Lambert, who also collected a number of convincing examples.<sup>27</sup> More recently, H. L. Ginsberg, Elisha Qimron, Jeremy Hughes, David Talshir and Noam Mizrahi have written studies on this subject.<sup>28</sup>

A good example from the realm of verbal syntax is the following. With *pe-yod* verbs, an unpointed third person masculine singular *qal* can be read either as a perfect or an imperfect (*yarad* – *yered*). In light of this, the vocalization in the following passage appears not to reflect the original grammar:

<sup>27</sup> M. Lambert, "Le waw conversif," *REJ* 26 (1883): 47-62; idem, "L'emploi du Nifal en hébreu," *REJ* 41 (1900): 196-214.

<sup>28</sup> See H. L. Ginsberg, "מבעד למסורת," *Tarbiz* 5 (1934-5): 208-223; *Tarbiz* 6 (1935-6): 543; J. Hughes, "Post-Biblical Features of Biblical Hebrew Vocalization," in *Language, Theology, and the Bible. Essays in Honour of James Barr* (ed. S. E. Balentine and J. Barton; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 67-80; E. Qimron, "על מסורת הלשון של סופרי המקרא," in *Hadassah Shy Jubilee Book: Research Papers on Hebrew Linguistics and Jewish Languages* (ed. Y. Bentolila; Eshel Beer-Sheva Occasional Papers In Jewish Studies 5; Jerusalem: Bialik, 1997), 37-43; D. Talshir, "אחות בלשון רבים ועדות בלשון יחיד בעברית העתיקה," in *Samaritan, Hebrew And Aramaic Studies Presented to Professor Abraham Tal* (ed. M. Bar-Asher and M. Florentin; Jerusalem: Bialik, 2005), 159-175; N. Mizrahi, "Colliding Traditions in Biblical Hebrew in Historical Linguistic Perspective," in *Israel: Linguistic Studies in the Memory of Israel Yeivin* (ed. R. I. Zer and Y. Ofer, Jerusalem: Hebrew University Bible Project, 2011), 341-354.

## 1 Sam 3:7

וְשִׁמוּאֵל טָרָם יָדַע אֶת־יְהוָה וְטָרָם יִגְלֶה אֵלָיו דְּבַר־יְהוָה

Now Samuel did not yet know the LORD, and the word of the LORD had not yet been revealed to him.

In biblical Hebrew, the particle טָרָם is usually followed by the imperfect, even in past-tense contexts.<sup>29</sup> This makes the combination יָדַע טָרָם suspicious. As Samuel Driver says, in his *Notes on Samuel*: "...the parallel יִגְלֶה makes it probable that the narrator himself would have vocalized יָדַע."<sup>30</sup> A change appears to have been made in the reading tradition, from יָדַע to יָדָע. The reason for the change would seem to be that, in later Hebrew, it had become rare to use the imperfect in reference to the past. In the Bible, טָרָם with perfect is attested only twice, but in Qumran Hebrew it is found eight times.<sup>31</sup> Now in most other cases, the use of the imperfect following טָרָם could be changed only with difficulty, since it was encoded in the consonantal text. In 1 Sam 3:7, however, the change affected only the vocalization. With the verb יָדַע, the third masculine singular *qal* has an initial *yod* in the perfect as well as in the imperfect.

The date of grammatical modernizations is to be discussed on a case-by-case basis. Lambert and Ginsberg loosely spoke of "Rabbinic Hebrew" influence. But the discoveries of the Qumran texts show that many of the later features underlying the vocalization existed already in the Second Temple period. In the case studied above, we have seen that the Massoretic pointing aligns with the syntax of Qumran Hebrew. In later Hebrew, the particle טָרָם fell from use.

### 2.3. Forgotten words and forms

A third category of mismatches between the consonantal text and its vocalization occurs when old words or forms were no longer recognized by later readers and were consequently transformed in different ways. Well-known examples include the noun צִלְמוֹת (Isa 9:1 and 17 more). Originally pronounced perhaps *šalmût* or *šallamût* and deriving in all likelihood from the root צִלַם "to be dark," this word was interpreted as a composite, "shadow of death," according to the Tiberian vocalization.<sup>32</sup> Another example is the

<sup>29</sup> The particle is followed by the perfect in Gen 24:15. On the date of Gen 24, see A. Rofé, "An Enquiry into the Betrothal of Rebekah," in *Die hebräische Bibel und ihre zweifache Nachgeschichte. Festschrift für Rolf Rendtorff zum 65. Geburtstag* (ed. E. Blum, C. Macholz, and E. W. Stegemann; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1990), 27-39.

<sup>30</sup> S. R. Driver, *Notes on the Hebrew Text and the Topography of the Books of Samuel* (2<sup>nd</sup> rev. and enl. ed.; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1912), 42-43.

<sup>31</sup> See CD 2:7; 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:25; 7:27; 9:9; 4Q176 f22:3; 4Q180 f1:2; 4Q180 f2 4ii:10; 11Q5 21:11.

<sup>32</sup> See C. Cohen, "The Meaning of צִלְמוֹת 'Darkness': A Study in Philological Method," in *Texts, Temples, and Traditions: A Tribute to Menahem Haran* (ed. M. V. Fox et al.; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1996), 287-309.

noun יפה/יפיה (Hab 2:3 and 9 more), meaning “witness” but pointed almost everywhere as a form of the verb פוה “to blow.”

In other instances, only the grammatical form of the word was forgotten, while the lexical meaning remains clear. For instance, the name of the Philistine city of Ekron is always vocalized עֶקְרוֹן. Comparative evidence and the form Ακκαρων transmitted in the Septuagint make it likely that the original form of the name would be of the *qattalân* pattern, ‘*iqqaron* or ‘*aqqaron*.<sup>33</sup>

The period when these words were forgotten is not easy to establish. At least some of them will have fallen into oblivion before the Hellenistic period. For the word צלמות the Septuagint reflects the same type of interpretation as is found in the MT: οὐαὶ θανάτου. Likewise, יפה/יפיה is rendered with verbal forms. The name of Ekron, however, is still correctly transcribed in the Septuagint, suggesting that its vocalization changed somewhat later.

#### 2.4. Miscellaneous cases

For the sake of completeness, some other types of mismatches between the consonantal framework and the vocalization need to be mentioned. The Tiberian tradition transmits a small number of “mixed forms,” in which the pointing combines two different ways of reading the word.<sup>34</sup> A good example is וַיִּלְדֶּה in Gen 16:11; Judg 13:5.7, reflecting the readings וַיִּלְדֶּה and וַיִּלְדֶּה.<sup>35</sup>

In a paper published recently in *Textus* I have argued that the form יִבְעֶר in Exod 22:4 should not be analyzed as a jussive of the *hiphil* of בער but reflects a kind of clandestine *qere* based on the reading יבעה, attested in a Qumran fragment.<sup>36</sup> There are other instances of this kind.<sup>37</sup>

In all categories reviewed, there are good reasons to view the Tiberian pointing as being at variance with the original vocalization. In a critical edition the vocalization of these words should not be retained in the text. Whether a corrected vocalization should be inserted instead is a moot question: in practically all cases, this would amount to adopting a conjectural

<sup>33</sup> Several other cases where the Septuagint appears to have preserved an earlier form of proper names are listed in W. E. Staples, “The Hebrew of the Septuagint,” *AJSL* 44 (1927), 6-30, esp. 8.

<sup>34</sup> See the summary discussion, with additional examples, in F. E. König, *Historisch-kritisches Lehrgebäude der Hebräischen Sprache*, vol. 2/1: *Abschluss der speziellen Formenlehre und generelle Formenlehre* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1895), 356-357. See also J. Joosten, “וַיִּלְדֶּה *forma mixta*?” *ZAW* 102 (1990): 96-97.

<sup>35</sup> Revell has argued that the aberrant form is a genuine variant of the participle, see E. J. Revell, “Obed (Deut 26:5) and the Function of the Participle in MT,” *Sef* 48 (1988): 197-205. Note however that the aberrant form is found only in contexts where the second person is called for. The same syntagm in a third person context is vocalized univocally as a participle (Isa 7:14).

<sup>36</sup> See J. Joosten, “A Note on the Anomalous Jussive in Exodus 22:4,” *Textus* 25 (2010): 9-16.

<sup>37</sup> Joosten, “Anomalous Jussive,” 12.

emendation in the text. Moreover, at least some of the original vocalizations can no longer be recovered (e.g. in the case of צלמות).

The wisest course might be to leave the words unvocalized and to provide all information in the *apparatus*.

### 3. Old readings in the Tiberian vocalization

Collecting the secondary readings expressed in the vocalization has the paradoxical effect of establishing the relatively great age of the Tiberian tradition. Many of the secondary readings themselves demonstrably go back to the Second Temple period. Other readings may be more recent, but none can be proven to be so. More importantly, the secondary readings are in a sense the exceptions proving the rule. For every “forgotten word” revocalized according to late exegesis there are many old words whose morphological shape is transmitted correctly. For every construction overlaid by late grammatical rules, there are many constructions of classical Hebrew that are faithfully reproduced in the Massoretic tradition.

#### 3.1. Tiberian Hebrew versus post-biblical Hebrew

Admittedly, a large part of the pointing of the biblical text is fairly straightforward. In prose texts, particularly, many vocalizations are self-evident once one knows the underlying grammatical system. It is also true that biblical Hebrew is governed in part by the same rules as post-biblical Hebrew. Someone with a good knowledge of Mishnaic Hebrew will be able to vocalize a large proportion of a biblical text. There are, nonetheless, many forms in the biblical language that did not continue into Mishnaic Hebrew. These are generally vocalized correctly as far as we can tell. An excellent example is the *wayyiqtol* form. As is well known, the *yiqtol* in *wayyiqtol* is not the normal imperfect, but an apocopated form morphologically identical with the jussive. One says *wayhi*, not *wayyihyeh*. This distinction is well understood in historical-comparative perspective: Akkadian and Arabic too use the short form as a preterit. Now in Hebrew, with some verbs, like *hayah*, the morphological difference shows up in the consonantal text. With many other verbs, there is no recognizable difference. With a third group, however, the difference is expressed only in the vocalization (sometimes confirmed by a *mater lectionis*, but not systematically): one says *yaqûm* but *wayyaqom*, *yabdîl* but *wayyabdel*. This distinction no longer exists in Mishnaic Hebrew, yet the Massoretes get it right almost invariably.

Something similar can be said about the distinction between infinitive construct and infinitive absolute: with some verbs it shows up in the consonants, but with many verbs the distinction is expressed only in the vocalization: *šmoaʿ* versus *šamoaʿ*. In Mishnaic Hebrew, the infinitive absolute has fallen from use, yet the Massoretes always correctly distinguish the forms.

Cases like these too are compatible with the idea that the Tiberian tradition goes back to the period of the second temple, when *wayyiqtol* forms and the infinitive absolute, although waning, were still alive. Stefan Schorch has recently taken this position. In a wide-ranging analysis, he argues for the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> and the beginning of the 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C.E. as the most likely period when established reading traditions—not only the Massoretic one, but the Samaritan as well—may have crystallized.<sup>38</sup>

### 3.2. *Early versus late biblical Hebrew in the Tiberian pointing*

Other evidence, however, is hard to reconcile with a date around 100 B.C.E. and suggests a much higher date for the origin of the Tiberian tradition. The most striking evidence are instances in which a word or construction is vocalized differently in the earlier and the later books of the Bible. Shelomo Morag was the first scholar pointing out this phenomenon.<sup>39</sup> But even better evidence was found later. Daniel Boyarin signaled the following:

Ps 6:3:                    תִּנְנִי יְהוָה כִּי אֶמְלֵל אֲנִי  
Neh 3:34:                מָה הִיהוּדִים הָאֵלֶּלִים עֲשִׂים

The form <sup>al</sup>*melal* is the one used in Tannaitic sources.<sup>40</sup> As Boyarin remarks:

Thus we observe once more the continuity between LBH and Rabbinic Hebrew. Furthermore, this instance gives important confirmation to the reading traditions on which the Massoretic vocalization is based. Indeed the Massorettes knew (or better, were taught by tradition) how to vocalize according to the late form precisely in Nehemiah, without any hint from the consonantal text.

If the oral reading of the Bible had been fixed only around 100 B.C.E., a long time after the creation of the biblical books, one would not expect to find similar distinctions in the Tiberian vocalization system. The examples show that the formative period of Tiberian Hebrew is not to be limited to the Second Temple period. They suggest that the time frame of the oral tradition issuing in Tiberian Hebrew is similar to the formative period of the consonantal text of the Bible.

<sup>38</sup> S. Schorch, *Die Vokale des Gesetzes. Die Samaritanische Lesetradition als Textzeugin der Tora*, vol. 1: *Das Buch Genesis* (BZAW 339; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2004), 56-60.

<sup>39</sup> See S. Morag, "On the Historical Validity of the Vocalization of the Hebrew Bible," *JAOS* 94 (1974): 307-315.

<sup>40</sup> See D. Boyarin, "Towards the Talmudic Lexicon IV," in *Studies in Hebrew and Arabic: In Memory of Dov Eron* (ed. A. Dotan; Te'uda 6; Tel Aviv: University Publishing, 1988), 63-75, esp. 63-64.



### 3.3. *The nature of the tradition issuing in Tiberian Hebrew*

How can one imagine that very early elements, perhaps going back to the pre-exilic period, were transmitted orally all the way to the Tiberian Massorètes? Schorch refers to the public reading of the biblical text as the main locus of the reading tradition. An important plank in his discussion is the notion that public reading was not practiced regularly before the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century B.C.E.

Arguably, however, what we are looking for is not public reading of scripture, but mechanisms of scribal transmission. Recent work on scribal activity in Antiquity has shown that literary texts were transmitted at once orally and in writing. In his book *Writing on the Tablet of the Heart*, David Carr has argued that Israelite scribes would not only copy down the classical texts of their curriculum from older manuscripts but memorize them as well.<sup>41</sup> In fact, memorization, declamation and copying would go hand in hand. Carr elaborated his hypothesis mostly on the basis of Mesopotamian and Egyptian parallels. Data on scribal activity in the biblical world are scarce. Nevertheless, the hypothesis provides a good model for explaining how the vocalization of an old text might be transmitted down the ages. There seems to be no good reason to doubt that the reading traditions of biblical Hebrew could go back more or less to the time when the texts were created.<sup>42</sup>

## 4. *Conclusions and perspectives*

The Tiberian pointing and other sources transmit early and valuable information concerning the vocalization of the biblical text. An eclectic edition aiming to reconstruct the oldest attainable phase of the text should not exclude this material but seek to integrate it in a critical way. Including the vowel points in a critical edition of the biblical text is warranted, not because they will make the edition easier to use, but because the information they transmit is valuable and old, possibly reflecting the same age as the consonantal text.

As in the case of the consonantal MT, the quality and the availability of the Tiberian vocalization amply justify taking it as the basis of the edition. On a practical level, this means the “copy text” principle remains valid. The Tiberian vocalization is to be adopted unless there is evidence showing that it is secondary.

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<sup>41</sup> D. M. Carr, *Writing on the Tablet of the Heart. Origins of Scripture and Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

<sup>42</sup> Alternatively, one might say the reading tradition goes back to the time when the writings became part of the scribal curriculum. The two periods may coincide, however.

The incorporation of different levels of information within one critical text may be offensive to some. But it is not unheard of in other areas of the humanities. It finds a nice analogy in the edition of musical scores. Early notations of music were little more than mnemonic devices, encoding only part of the information necessary for the execution of works known largely by heart. Modern editions of Gregorian chants or baroque music will usually include many indications that were lacking in the earliest manuscripts, although they were known to all those involved in the production of the music in question. The presence of such indications does not make these modern editions unscientific. Similarly, the combination of information transmitted in writing with information transmitted orally for over a thousand years before finally being written down will in no way impair an edition of the biblical text.

# DIE *TIQQUNE SOPHERIM* IM HORIZONT DER BIBLISCHEN TEXTGESCHICHTE

Theologische Korrekturen, literarische Varianten im alttestamentlichen Text  
und Textvielfalt: wie gehen sie zusammen?

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## 1. *Das Problem*

### 1.1. *Textvielfalt*

Die biblischen Handschriften aus Qumran bieten ein buntes Bild des biblischen Textes. Fast jede Handschrift hat ihre eigene Textgestalt, obwohl die meisten dem späteren masoretischen Konsonantentext nahe stehen. Die altgriechische Übersetzung aus dem 3. und 2. Jh. v. Chr. und der Samaritanus fügen weitere Variationen zu dieser Mannigfaltigkeit des biblischen Textes hinzu.<sup>1</sup> Folgt aus diesem Befund der Schluss, es habe in dieser Zeit noch keine exemplarische Gestalt des biblischen Textes gegeben?<sup>2</sup> Ich möchte zeigen, dass ein textgeschichtlicher Tatbestand im Gegenteil beweist, dass mindestens bestimmte Kreise der Tradenten der hebräischen Bibel damals der Auffassung waren, es gebe einen solchen exemplarischen

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<sup>1</sup> E. Tov, "Scriptures: Texts," in *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. Schiffman and VanderKam), 2:832-836; H. von Weissenberg, J. Pakkala, and M. Marttila (eds.), *Changes in Scripture. Rewriting and Interpreting Authoritative Traditions in the Second Temple Period* (BZAW 419; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2011).

<sup>2</sup> E. Ulrich, "The Canonical Process, Textual Criticism, and Latter Stages in the Composition of the Bible," in "*Sha'arei Talmon*": *Studies in the Bible, Qumran, and the Ancient Near East Presented to Shemaryahu Talmon* (ed. M. Fishbane and E. Tov; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1992), 267-291; ders., "The Evolutionary Production and Transmission of the Scriptural Books," in *Changes in Scripture* (ed. von Weissenberg, Pakkala, Marttila), 47-64 (wie Anm. 1); A. Lange, "From Literature to Scripture: The Unity and Plurality of the Hebrew Scriptures in Light of the Qumran Library," in *One Scripture or Many? Canon from Biblical, Theological, and Philosophical Perspectives* (ed. C. Helmer and C. Landmesser; Oxford: University Press, 2004), 51-107; ders., "'Nobody dared to add to them, to take from them, or to make changes' (Josephus, *Ag. Ap.* 1.42). The Textual Standardization of Jewish Scriptures in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Flores Florentino. Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Early Jewish Studies* (FS Florentino García Martínez) (ed. A. Hilhorst, E. Puech, and E. Tigchelaar; JSJSup 122; Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2007), 104-126. In extremer Form vertritt diese Ansicht H. Debel, "Rewritten Bible, Variant Literary Editions and Original Text(s): Exploring the Implications of a Pluriform Outlook on the Scriptural Tradition," in *Changes in Scripture* (ed. von Weissenberg, Pakkala, Marttila), 65-92 (wie Anm. 1).

Wortlaut der Schrift, und es müsse ihn geben. Diesen Tatbestand bilden die sog. *Tiqqune sopherim* und die literarischen Varianten.

Mit literarischen Varianten oder Lesarten bezeichnet man solche Unterschiede in den Textzeugen, die keine Versehen oder Eingriffe von Kopisten sind, wie sie die Textkritik identifiziert, sondern redaktionelle Differenzen, die denselben literarischen Stoff anders gestalten, sodass er sich in zwei synoptische Fassungen mit zwei literarisch verschiedenen Profilen gabelt. Solche Varianten können quantitativ umfangreich sein, wie im Buch Jeremia im masoretischen Text und in der alten griechischen Bibel. Sie können aber auch umfangsmässig zwar winzig sein, jedoch den literarischen Stoff bedeutend verändern, wie gewisse echte *Tiqqune sopherim*, z.B. Dtn 32,8 oder Dtn 27,4. Es gibt keinen grundsätzlichen Unterschied zwischen umfangreichen oder kleinen solchen Varianten. Beide entsprechen derselben Eigenart: sie sind *redaktioneller* Natur. Literarische Varianten implizieren nach alledem neben einer ersten Gestalt eine zweite, spätere Fassung desselben literarischen Werkes.<sup>3</sup>

### 1.2. Literarische Varianten in den Grenzen der Textkritik

Literarische Varianten fallen nur in den Zuständigkeitsbereich der Textkritik, wenn sie von Textzeugen überliefert wurden. Die ältesten Bezeugungen des biblischen Wortlautes reichen in das 4. Jh. hinauf. Es sind Stellen aus biblischen Parallelüberlieferungen, z.B. 2 Sam 22 – Ps 18; 1-2 Sam und 1-2 Kön – 1-2 Chr. Alle bezeugten Varianten des biblischen Textes gehören zu der Aufgabe der Textkritik, gleichviel, ob es sich um Varianten von Kopisten (Fehler, Erleichterungen, Angleichungen, Modernisierungen u. dgl.) oder um redaktionelle Varianten (andere literarische Fassung desselben Stoffes) handelt. Auch bei zwei literarischen Lesarten stellt sich nicht anders als bei den textlichen die Frage, ob die eine ursprünglich und die andere sekundär ist.

Es ist freilich denkbar, dass literarische Unterschiede gleich ursprünglich sind, weil sie gemeinsam in die Zeit vor dem 4. Jh. zurückgehen und keine älter als die andere ist. Es würde keinen gemeinsamen Archetypen geben. Aber diese Annahme muss zuerst geprüft werden. Erst wenn sich ein *Abhängigkeitsverhältnis* der literarischen Varianten untereinander nicht als wahrscheinlich nachweisen lässt, erhält die Annahme eines ursprünglichen oder sehr alten Nebeneinanders von synoptischen Fassungen einer gleichen literarischen Schrift grössere Wahrscheinlichkeit. Daher entbindet diese Möglichkeit nicht von der Pflicht, zuerst zu prüfen, ob es unter den konkurrierenden Lesarten eine ursprünglichere und eine sekundäre gibt, die in einem Abhängigkeitsverhältnis zueinander stehen, wie man das bei Textvarianten machen muss.

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<sup>3</sup> A. Schenker, "Der Ursprung des massoretischen Textes im Licht der literarischen Varianten im Bibeltext," *Textus* 23 (2007): 51-67.

Sollte sich ein Abhängigkeitsverhältnis als wahrscheinliche Erklärung der literarisch verschiedenen Textgestalten ergeben, müsste man eine Rezension als Archetyp annehmen, die später überarbeitet und zu einer neuen, „synoptischen“ Rezension umgestaltet wurde. Dass Rezensionen inhaltlich-literarischer Art in ihrem gegenseitigem Verhältnis nicht mit absoluter Gewissheit bestimmt werden können, liegt in der Natur der Sache. Auch in der reinen Textkritik gibt es viele Fälle, wo das Abhängigkeitsverhältnis der Lesarten untereinander nicht mit letzter Eindeutigkeit bestimmt werden kann.

### 1.3. Zusammenfassung

Literarische Varianten bilden eine besondere Gruppe von Unterschieden im biblischen Text. Sie entsprechen in der Regel zwei Fassungen desselben biblischen Stoffes. Manchmal sind es auch mehrere Fassungen. Wie bei den textlichen Unterschieden hat die Textkritik die Aufgabe, das gegenseitige Verhältnis der verschiedenen literarischen Fassungen zu klären und Ursprüngliches von Abgeleitetem zu unterscheiden.<sup>4</sup>

## 2. Welches Verständnis vom biblischen Text ist im Nebeneinander von synoptischen Fassungen impliziert?

### 2.1. Nebeneinander und nacheinander

Zwei oder mehrere synoptische Gestalten desselben literarischen Stoffes stehen demgemäss oft in einem Verhältnis zueinander, d.h. sie laufen nicht beziehungslos nebeneinander her, sondern die eine kommt von der andern her oder bezieht sich auf sie. Das ist der Fall z.B. in 1 Kön 11-12; 14 im Vergleich mit 3 Kgt 12,24a-z;<sup>5</sup> Esra-Nehemia und 1(3) Esdras;<sup>6</sup> Dan 4-5 im

<sup>4</sup> Das ist m. E. der Mangel vieler Arbeiten über die Vielfalt des biblischen Textes zwischen 400 v. und 100 n. Chr. Sie stellen die Textvielfalt fest, ohne das *Verhältnis* zu prüfen, in welchem verschiedene Fassungen eines überlieferten biblischen Stoffes zueinander stehen können.

<sup>5</sup> Z. Talshir, *The Alternative Story of the Division of the Kingdom. 3 Kingdoms 12:24a-z* (Jerusalem Biblical Studies 6; Jerusalem: Simor, 1993); A. Schenker, „Jéroboam et la division du royaume dans la Septante ancienne: LXX 1 R 12,24a-z, TM 11-12; 14 et l'histoire deutéronomiste,” in *Israël construit son histoire. L'historiographie deutéronomiste à la lumière des recherches récentes* (ed. A. de Pury, T. Römer et J.-D. Macchi; Le Monde de la Bible 34; Genève: Labor et Fides, 1996) (trad. anglaise [imparfaite] en: *Israel Constructs its History. Deuteronomistic Historiography in Recent Research* [ed. A. de Pury, T. Römer, J.-D. Macchi; JSOTSup 306; Sheffield: Academic Press, 2000], 214-257); A. Schenker, *Älteste Textgeschichte der Königsbücher*. Die hebräische Vorlage der ursprünglichen Septuaginta als älteste Textform der Königsbücher (OBO 199; Fribourg: Academic Press; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004).

<sup>6</sup> L. S. Fried, ed., *Was 1 Esdras First? An Investigation into the Priority and Nature of 1 Esdras* (SBL Ancient Israel and its Literature 7; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2011);

MT und in der LXX<sup>7</sup> usw. Die eine Fassung nimmt die andere auf, um sie umzugestalten. Das Nebeneinander ist daher in den meisten Fällen ein Nacheinander.

Eine literarische Neufassung darf man als Rezension bezeichnen. Der Stoff wird literarisch neu gefasst, und als solcher tritt er neben die alte Fassung. Rezensionen haben ihre Eigenständigkeit. Textkritisch müssen sie auseinander gehalten werden. So kennzeichnet die BHQ solche Lesarten, die auf das Konto einer andern Fassung desselben literarischen Stoffes gehen, als *lit*, d.h. als literarische, nicht textliche Varianten.<sup>8</sup>

## 2.2. Warum gab es in der hebräischen Bibel in den Jahrhunderten vor unserer Zeitrechnung Rezensionen?

Die Textzeugen der hebräischen Bibel enthalten an vielen Stellen literarische Varianten. Deren Umfang, Alter und Erklärung sind Gegenstand der Diskussion. Um die Frage einer Antwort entgegenzuführen, greifen wir eine besondere Reihe von synoptischen Fassungen heraus, die unter dem Namen *Tiqqune sopherim* bekannt und als besondere Gruppe von Varianten seit Abraham Geiger oft untersucht worden sind.<sup>9</sup> Ausgangspunkt soll die Untersuchung von Carmel McCarthy sein.<sup>10</sup>

Sie hat die traditionellen Listen der rabbinischen Literatur untersucht, um zu prüfen, ob die Überlieferung von Korrekturen, die im biblischen Wortlaut angebracht worden seien, als zuverlässig nachgewiesen werden könne. Sie zeigte, dass einige Stellen in der rabbinischen Korrekturenliste textgeschichtlich in der Tat wahrscheinlich sind. Ihre Untersuchung ist in der Forschung mit Zustimmung aufgenommen worden. Sie soll hier als Grund-

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D. Böhler, *Die heilige Stadt in Esdras a und Ezra-Nehemia. Zwei Konzeptionen der Wiederherstellung Israels* (OBO 158; Freiburg Schweiz: Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1997).

<sup>7</sup> O. Munnich, "Texte massorétique et Septante dans le livre de Daniel," in *The Earliest Text of the Hebrew Bible. The Relationship between the Masoretic Text and the Hebrew Base of the Septuagint Reconsidered* (ed. A. Schenker; SBLSCS 52; Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2003), 93-120.

<sup>8</sup> J. de Waard et al., *General Introduction and Megilloth* (BHQ 18; Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2004), I - XCIV.

<sup>9</sup> A. Geiger, *Urschrift und Übersetzungen der Bibel in ihrer Abhängigkeit von der innern Entwicklung des Judentums* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.; Frankfurt a. M.: Verlag Mada, 1928), bes. 308-345.

<sup>10</sup> C. McCarthy, *The Tikkune Sopherim and Other Theological Corrections in the Masoretic Text of the Old Testament* (OBO 36; Freiburg Schweiz: Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1981). Ferner E. Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* (3<sup>rd</sup> rev. and enl. ed.; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2012), 59-61, 242-253. Tov unterscheidet terminologisch zwischen den *tiqqune sopherim*, welche die Korrekturen bezeichnen, die in den rabbinischen bzw. masoretischen Listen aufgezählt werden, und theologischen Korrekturen, die sich mit textkritischen Methoden nachweisen lassen, aber in den masoretischen Listen nicht vorkommen. Vgl. weiter I. Himbaza, "Dt 32,8, une correction tardive des scribes. Essai d'interprétation et de datation," *Bib* 83 (2002): 527-548.

lage dienen, um die Frage zu beantworten, was zu synoptischen Fassungen einer und derselben biblischen Stelle führte. Dabei soll nicht aus dem Auge verloren werden, dass es neben den von Carmel McCarthy untersuchten traditionellen *Tiqqunim* weitere Stellen gibt, die sehr wahrscheinlich korrigiert wurden, z.B. Dtn 27,4<sup>11</sup> und das Futurum in der deuteronomischen Formel: der Ort, den Jhwh erwählen wird, um da seinen Namen wohnen zu lassen, welches ursprünglich ein Perfekt war: der Ort, den Jhwh erwählt hat,<sup>12</sup> ferner in Jer 31,33 die Tora im Singular anstelle der Torot im Plural und im Gefolge davon das Perfekt "ich gab" mit seiner Anspielung auf die Gabe der Tora am Sinai.<sup>13</sup> Ein anderes Beispiel ist Jes 63,9.<sup>14</sup>

### 2.3. Korrigierende Rezension und was in ihnen impliziert ist

In den *Tiqqune sopherim* bzw. in den sog. theologischen Korrekturen führt der anstössige oder unmögliche Wortlaut einer Stelle zur Neuformulierung. Was ist in der Idee der Korrektur eines biblischen Wortlautes impliziert? Es sind acht Implikationen, die Licht auf die Auffassung des biblischen Textes bei den Korrektoren oder Autoren der Rezension werfen:

<sup>11</sup> A. Schenker, *Septante et texte massorétique dans l'histoire la plus ancienne du texte de 1 Rois 2-14* (CahRB 48; Paris: Gabalda, 2000), 142-147; C. McCarthy, *Deuteronomy* (BHQ 5; Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2007), 122\*-123\*.

<sup>12</sup> A. Schenker, "Le Seigneur choisira-t-il le lieu de son nom ou l'a-t-il choisi? L'apport de la Bible grecque ancienne à l'histoire du texte samaritain et massorétique," in *Scripture in Transition: Essays on Septuagint, Hebrew Bible, and the Dead Sea Scrolls in Honour of Rajia Sollamo* (ed. A. Voita and J. Jokiranta; JSJSup 126; Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2008), 339-351. S. White Crawford, "The Pentateuch as Found in the Pre-Samaritan Texts and 4QReworked Pentateuch," in *Changes in Scripture* (ed. von Weissenberg, Pakkala, Marttila), 123-136 (wie Anm. 1), verwirft den Nachweis meiner Untersuchung (die sie nach eigenem Eingeständnis nur vom Hörensagen kennt) mit dem entwaffnenden Argument: die Mehrheit der vor-samaritanischen hebräischen Textzeugen aus Qumran und die Mehrheit der griechischen Textzeugen läsen wie MT (S. 132, Anm. 38). Seit wann ist in der Textkritik die numerische Mehrheit von Zeugen ein Beweis für Ursprünglichkeit? Erstens gibt es für die zwölf Stellen, wo die Formel im Deuteronomium vorkommt: "der Ort, den Jhwh erwählen wird / erwählt hat," keinen einzigen Beleg in Paleo-Exod<sup>m</sup> (4Q22), Exodus-Leviticus<sup>f</sup> (4Q17), Numbers<sup>b</sup> (4Q27) und Deuteronomy<sup>n</sup> (4Q41), ebensowenig in Reworked Pentateuch (4Q158, 364, 365) und auch nicht in Testimonia (4Q175), d.h. in keinem einzigen der sog. Präsamaritanischen Textzeugen in Qumran, vgl. Tov, "Scriptures: Texts" (wie Anm. 1). Zweitens müssen die griechischen Textzeugen schon angeschaut werden, bevor ein textkritisches Urteil abgegeben werden soll.

<sup>13</sup> A. Schenker, *Das Neue am neuen Bund und das Alte am alten. Jer 31 in der hebräischen und griechischen Bibel* (FRLANT 212; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006).

<sup>14</sup> A. Schenker, "Isaïe 63,9, le Livre des Jubilés et l'Ange de la Face," in A. Schenker, *Studien zu Propheten und Religionsgeschichte* (SBAB 36; Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 2003), 12-26; M. Pesce, *Dio senza mediatori. Una tradizione dal Giudaismo al Cristianesimo* (TRSR 16; Brescia: Paideia, 1979), 183-191.

### 2.3.1. Erste Implikation: Datierung vor dem 1. Jh. n. Chr.

Carmel McCarthy's Untersuchung zeigt, dass die *Tiqqune sopherim* vor dem 1. nachchristlichen Jahrhundert geschaffen wurden. Sie gehören somit in die Zeit der Textgeschichte, die durch die Vielfalt der Textformen geprägt zu sein scheint.

### 2.3.2. Zweite Implikation: die korrigierende Rezension will die erste und ursprünglichere Fassung ersetzen

Die Korrektur enthält in der Tat den Anspruch, den korrekturbedürftigen Wortlaut durch den korrigierten zu ersetzen. Sie bedeutet einen Einschnitt in der Textüberlieferung. Vorher wurde die alte Fassung vor der Korrektur abgeschrieben, nachher musste die korrigierte Fassung an deren Stelle treten. Die alte unkorrigierte Form durfte nicht mehr tradiert werden, denn sonst wäre ja die Korrektur sinnlos oder zumindest wirkungslos geblieben. Daher konnte das Judentum die LXX nicht weiter beibehalten, obgleich diese eine jüdische Übersetzung war. Doch entsprach sie einer früheren Rezension, die durch eine neue, korrigierte Rezension (z.B. die alte kurze Fassung von Jer in der LXX – die neue Langfassung in M) ersetzt war.<sup>15</sup>

### 2.3.3. Dritte Implikation: keine private, sondern eine editorische Rezension

Eine Korrektur bleibt nur bestehen, wenn sie veröffentlicht wird und in einer neuen Edition des Buches steht, welche die vorhergehenden Ausgaben ersetzt. Eine private Korrektur ist auf das Exemplar des Besitzers der korrigierten Handschrift beschränkt. Korrekturen schliessen die Möglichkeit ein, eine revidierte Edition zu veranstalten, die an Stelle der bisher verwendeten *Mastercopy* des biblischen Buches tritt.<sup>16</sup>

### 2.3.4. Vierte Implikation: massgebende und anerkannte Edition

Damit die Korrektur bleibt und überall an die Stelle des unkorrigierten, verdrängten Wortlautes tritt, bedarf es einer anerkannten Edition, welcher

<sup>15</sup> A. Schenker, "Pourquoi le Judaïsme s'est-il désintéressé de la Septante au début de notre ère? En même temps d'une des raisons pour lesquelles la Septante fut négligée dans la critique rédactionnelle vétérotestamentaire moderne," in *Les dernières rédactions du Pentateuque, de l'Hexateuque et de l'Ennéateuque* (ed. T. Römer et K. Schmid; BETL 203; Leuven: University Press, 2007), 255-268.

<sup>16</sup> Es wäre sachgemäss, eine Textgestalt als "Edition" zu bezeichnen, wenn diese explizit den Anspruch und den erklärten Zweck hat, eine frühere durch eine veränderte, bearbeitete Textform zu ersetzen. Zwei Textformen des gleichen literarischen Werkes, die lediglich gleichzeitig nebeneinander herlaufen, wären als "Redaktionen" zu bezeichnen. "Redaktion" bezieht sich auf die Form, "Edition" auf die Publikation, die Veröffentlichung eines literarischen Werkes.



der Rang einer neuen *Mastercopy* zukommt. Eine reine Buchhandelsausgabe reicht dafür nicht aus, denn diese ist privat und wird nicht von allen Lesern der biblischen Bücher als massgeblich betrachtet werden. Die Edition, welche die Korrektur durchsetzen kann, muss mit einer anerkannten Autorität ausgestattet sein. In modernen Begriffen muss sie mit dem *copyright* über den Wortlaut der biblischen Bücher versehen sein. Der Samaritanus mit seinen spezifischen samaritanischen Lesarten ist sicher nicht nur eine erfolgreiche Ausgabe eines Buchhändlers gewesen, die sich auf dem Markt besser als andere Rezensionen behauptet hat. Sie war vielmehr eine *verbindliche* oder obligatorische Rezension für alle samaritanischen Juden. Analoges gilt für den jerusalemischen oder jüdischen Pentateuch mit seinen spezifischen Lesarten, z.B. in Dtn 27,4.

#### 2.3.5. Fünfte Implikation: Vereinheitlichung der Textüberlieferung

Mit einer derartigen korrigierten Neufassung und Edition ist ein *vereinheitlichter* biblischer Wortlaut oder Text geschaffen, denn die neue Edition schliesst die alten unkorrigierten Abschriften aus. Die notwendige Folge daraus ist es, dass eine solche anerkannte Edition nicht nur an der einzigen Stelle des *Tiqqun* die *Mastercopy* ist, sondern wohl *als Ganze* diesen Rang hat.

#### 2.3.6. Sechste Implikation: prophetische Autorität der korrigierten Edition

Der biblische Wortlaut ist im Verständnis der damaligen Zeit prophetisch vermittelt. Mose und Propheten selbst haben das von ihnen vernommene Wort Gottes schriftlich festgehalten oder festhalten lassen, wie es besonders deutlich Jer 36 zeigt. Aber auch 2 Chr 32,32 weist mit seiner Notiz, dass Jesaja die Geschichte Hiskijas in den Büchern der Könige von Juda verfasst habe, auf dasselbe Verständnis von den Verfassern biblischer Schriften: sie sind Propheten, d.h. Überbringer des Wortes, das Gott ihnen mitgeteilt hat. Wer darf diese prophetischen und göttlichen Worte korrigieren? Es können nur Editoren gewesen sein, die selbst *prophetische Vollmacht* haben.

#### 2.3.7. Siebte Implikation: auch der alte, unkorrigierte biblische Wortlaut ist prophetischer und damit göttlicher Text

Die Korrektur ist nur deshalb unentbehrlich, weil der unkorrigierte, bis zum Zeitpunkt der neuen, korrigierten Edition überlieferte Wortlaut prophetisch ist und daher keinen Widerspruch zu andern prophetischen Worten enthalten kann. Deshalb musste er ja korrigiert werden. Es ist eine Neufassung inner-

halb der schriftlich gefassten Überlieferung der echten Worte der Propheten. Der Text war prophetisch vor der Korrektur und bleibt es nach derselben.<sup>17</sup>

*2.3.8. Achte Implikation: die Tiqqune sopherim entsprechen einer älteren gemeinsamen judäisch-israelitischen (samaritanischen) und einer jüngeren jerusalemischen Schicht*

Da bestimmte *Tiqqune sopherim* im samaritanischen Pentateuch bezeugt sind, wie Dtn 32,8; Gen 46,8-27; Ex 1,5, oder wie die zweite Tafel des Dekalogs im Pentateuch,<sup>18</sup> gab es eine allgemein anerkannte literarische und korrigierte Neufassung vor dem Bruch der beiden Gemeinschaften am Ende des 2. Jh. v. Chr. Die Änderungen von Dtn 27,4 und von Dtn 12,11.14.18.21.26; 14,24.25; 16,2.6.7; 26,2 sind dagegen als anti-samaritanische Korrekturen in Jerusalem in den biblischen Wortlaut eingeführt worden. Die ältere Schicht hat für die Korrekturen einen Anhaltspunkt in der Bibel selbst (Dtn 32,8; Ex 1,5; Gen 46,8-27 bezieht sich auf Dtn 10,22 und gleicht den Widerspruch aus), die jüngere jerusalemische scheint mehr an der Legitimation des Jerusalemer Heiligtums interessiert gewesen zu sein.

*2.4. Zusammenfassung*

Die *Tiqqune sopherim* sind eine Gruppe von literarischen Varianten. Sie implizieren eine massgebliche, anerkannte Neuausgabe gewisser biblischer Texte. Eine Neuausgabe entspricht einem vereinheitlichten Text. Die *Tiqqune sopherim* entstammen der Zeit vor dem 1. nach-christlichen Jahrhundert. In dieser Zeit gab es dementsprechend nicht nur vielgestaltige biblische Texte, sondern gleichzeitig eine (oder mehrere) massgebliche (archetypische) Editionen bestimmter biblischer Texte mit dem Anspruch, die endgültige *Mastercopy* darzustellen.

<sup>17</sup> Zu den sieben Implikationen vgl. I. Himbaza et A. Schenker, "Du texte à la théologie. Synthèse et perspectives," in *Un carrefour dans l'histoire de la Bible. Du texte à la théologie au II<sup>e</sup> siècle avant J.-C.* (ed. I. Himbaza et A. Schenker; OBO 233; Fribourg: Academic Press; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2007), 131-142.

<sup>18</sup> Hier ist die Korrektur besonders auffällig, ob man sie auf Seiten des MT-Sam oder auf Seiten der LXX-Papyrus Nash erkennt, denn der Dekalog ist nach Ex 19-20; Dt 5,4 das einzige Wort, das Jhwh nicht durch die prophetische Vermittlung Moses (oder anderer Propheten), sondern unvermittelt "von Angesicht zu Angesicht" an das ganze Volk Israel richtete. Welcher Mensch durfte an einem solchen Wort allerhöchster göttlicher Autorität Änderungen vornehmen, es sei denn, er wäre dazu von Gott selbst bevollmächtigt worden? A. Schenker, "Die Reihenfolge der Gebote auf der zweiten Tafel. Zur Systematik des Dekalogs," in A. Schenker, *Recht und Kult im Alten Testament. Achtzehn Studien* (OBO 172; Freiburg Schweiz: Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000), 52-66.

### 3. Gibt es andere einleuchtendere Erklärungen für die echten *Tiqqune sopherim*?

#### 3.1. Haben Schreiber in eigener Initiative in den Wortlaut eingegriffen?

Die Frage stellt sich, ob die hier gegebene Erklärung der *Tiqqune sopherim* bzw. der theologischen Korrekturen die einzig mögliche oder die einleuchtendste unter verschiedenen möglichen Erklärungen ist? Die Forschung bevorzugt in einer stillschweigenden unausgesprochenen Voraussetzung die Annahme von Einzelhandschriften, die sich dann allmählich durchgesetzt hätten und zu massgeblichen *Mastercopies* geworden wären. Diese Annahme liegt in der Terminologie beschlossen, die von "Schreibern" oder von "schöpferischen Schreibern" spricht, wenn sie die Verfasser der individuellen Handschriften mit ihren spezifischen Eigentümlichkeiten bezeichnen will.<sup>19</sup> Solche Schreiber müssen sich nicht nur als Kopisten betrachtet haben, die eine Vorlage so genau wie möglich abzuschreiben hatten. Sie hätten sich vielmehr als berechtigt angesehen, ihre Vorlage an bestimmten Stellen zu verändern. Ihre neue Fassung wäre dann abgeschrieben und vervielfältigt worden, bis sie nach einem Selektionsprozess – sozusagen in freier Marktwirtschaft – zur erfolgreichsten, vorherrschenden und schliesslich allein übrig bleibenden Fassung emporgestiegen wäre. Es wäre ein Vorgang der Auswahl gewesen, ohne editorische Entscheidungen, welche allein aus der Konkurrenz unter allen umlaufenden Exemplaren zustande gekommen wäre, sei es durch buchhändlerische Initiativen von Schreibern oder aufgrund von Vorlieben der Kunden, welche biblische Handschriften brauchten und einer bestimmten Handschrift mit ihrem individuellen Wortlaut vor allen andern den Vorzug gaben, oder durch das Zusammentreffen beider Faktoren.

Folgende drei Gründe scheinen einer solchen Annahme nicht günstig zu sein.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>19</sup> Ausdrücke wie "schöpferische Schreiber", "editors-scribes" erscheinen regelmässig, wenn von der Mannigfaltigkeit der biblischen Textformen in den drei vorchristlichen Jahrhunderten und im ersten Jahrhundert der christlichen Zeitrechnung die Rede ist, z.B. S. Talmon, "The Textual Study of the Bible: A New Outlook," in *Qumran and the History of the Biblical Text* (ed. F. M. Cross and S. Talmon; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1975), 321-400, bes. 336-337; Ulrich, "Canonical Process and Textual Criticism," 290-291 (wie Anm. 2); Tov, *Textual Criticism*, 181-189, 240 (wie Anm. 10).

<sup>20</sup> Zum Unterschied zwischen Schreibern und Herausgebern, der wohl gemacht werden sollte: A. Schenker, "What do Scribes, and what do Editors do? The Hebrew Text of the Masoretes, the Old Greek Bible and the Alexandrian Philological *Ekdoseis* of the 4<sup>th</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> Centuries B.C., Illustrated by the Example of 2 Kings 1," in *After Qumran. Old and Modern Editions of the Biblical Texts – The Historical Books* (ed. H. Ausloos, B. Lemmelijn, and J. Treballe Barrera; BETL 246; Leuven: Peeters, 2012), 275-293.

### 3.2. *Massgebliche Handschrift im 4. Jh.*

Erstens gibt es den Beweis für eine archetypische Handschrift der Bücher 1-2 Samuel und 1-2 Könige, die schon vor der Abfassung der Chronikbücher existiert hat. Denn an mehreren Stellen setzen die Chronikbücher sehr wahrscheinlich einen Schreibfehler voraus, den sie in ihrer Vorlage gefunden und aus ihr übernommen haben.<sup>21</sup> An zwei Stellen hatte der Kopist den Buchstaben *beth* mit einem finalen *mem* verwechselt. Das ist ein Schreibfehler, der als Leitvariante beweist, dass der Verfasser der Chronik eine Handschrift der Königsbücher benutzt hat, in der dieser Fehler schon stand. An einer andern Stelle, 2 Chr 15,18, ist ein *resch* mit einem *beth* verwechselt worden. Es gab daher im 4. und vielleicht schon im 5. Jh. einen *Archetyp* oder eine *Mastercopy* der Königsbücher, die allen Zeugen (Chronik, MT Könige, LXX Königtümer) gemeinsam vorlag. Das muss demnach eine privilegierte, herausragende Handschrift gewesen sein. Ferner muss es eine Rolle gewesen sein, die die Samuel- und Königsbücher umfasste, da es Stellen mit Fehlern gibt, die darin schon enthalten waren, bevor das Buch der Chronik geschrieben war.

### 3.3. *Massgeblicher hebräischer Text im 2. oder 1. Jh. v. Chr.*

Zweitens dokumentiert die Rezension des griechischen Zwölfprophetenbuches aufgrund eines bestimmten hebräischen Textes oder Wortlautes, wie sie in der Rolle aus *Nachal Chever* aus dem 1. Jh. v. Chr. bezeugt ist, den Willen zu einer Korrektur der griechischen Übersetzung in Entsprechung zu einem *massgeblichen* hebräischen Wortlaut.<sup>22</sup> Das ist eine Massnahme der Korrektur eines als korrekturbedürftig betrachteten Textes und infolgedessen auch eine Massnahme der Verbreitung eines als gültig angesehenen Wortlautes. Eine solche Massnahme impliziert mindestens den Anspruch, eine bestimmte fest umrissene Textgestalt als eine Edition zu veröffentlichen oder zu propagieren.

<sup>21</sup> A. Schenker, *Une bible archétype? Les parallèles de Samuel-Rois et des Chroniques* (L'écriture de la Bible 3; Paris: Cerf, 2013).

<sup>22</sup> Das war die bahnbrechende Entdeckung D. Barthélemy's: D. Barthélemy, "Redécouverte d'un chaînon manquant de l'histoire de la Septante," *RB* 60 (1953): 18-29, abgedruckt in ders., *Etudes d'histoire du texte de l'Ancien Testament* (OBO 25; Fribourg: Editions universitaires; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1978), 38-50; ders., *Les devanciers d'Aquila. Première publication intégrale du texte des fragments du Dodécaprophète trouvés dans le desert de Juda, précédée d'une étude sur les traductions et recensions grecques de la Bible réalisées au 1<sup>er</sup> siècle de notre ère sous l'influence du rabbinat palestinien* (VTSup 10; Leiden: Brill, 1963).

### 3.4. Massgebliche Dokumente bei den Propheten

Drittens ist die Idee der offiziellen, berechtigten Edition prophetischer Schriften durchaus bezeugt und wichtig, so in Jer 36, aber auch in Jer 32,1-15, sowie in Jes 8,1-2.16-17; 30,8 und Hab 2,1-3, ferner in Ex 24,7. An allen diesen Stellen liegt Gewicht auf dem kontrollierten schriftlichen Dokument, das vor Veränderungen ausdrücklich geschützt wird. In Jer 36 diktiert der Prophet das Dokument; Jer 36,32 beschreibt dabei spezifisch und formell eine zweite, neue und erweiterte Edition, die der Prophet selbst als Urheber veranlasst und autorisiert hat. In Ex 24,7 bezeugt die Volksversammlung den Inhalt des verbindlichen Bundesbuches als echt, ebenso tun es die Zeugen in Jer 32,1-15 und Jes 8,16-17 und 30,10. Es sind keine privaten, sondern öffentliche Dokumente, die nach Form und Inhalt durch Zeugen verbürgt werden. Nach 2 Chr 32,32 haben die Berichte über König Hiskija die Garantie des Propheten Jesaja selbst. Die hier genannten Berichte über bestimmte biblische, mit prophetischer Garantie versehene Dokumente stehen in der hebräischen Bibel und belegen die Auffassung des öffentlichen, garantierten Status prophetischer Schriftstücke für die Bibel selbst. Ist es da wahrscheinlich, dass Bücher, von denen die Bibel selbst die öffentliche, von Propheten garantierte Geltung berichtet und betont, in der Folge als private Texte betrachtet worden wären, mit denen private Schreiber hätten frei schalten und walten dürfen? Die *Pescher* von Qumran setzen die Konzeption von *authentischen* prophetischen Schriften voraus: eine alte, autorisierte Prophetenschrift wird Licht auf eine viel spätere Zeit werfen.<sup>23</sup> Das setzt voraus, dass diese alte Schrift in ihrem Wortlaut unverändert geblieben ist, denn sonst würde sie ja nicht mehr die echte prophetische Botschaft enthalten.

### 3.5. Zusammenfassung

Die *Tiqqune sopherim* bzw. die theologischen Korrekturen erklären sich am einleuchtendsten als Revisionen eines überlieferten Textes im Hinblick auf eine offizielle verbesserte Neuausgabe des hergebrachten Wortlautes. Die alternative Erklärung, eine private Handschrift habe sich erfolgreich gegenüber ändern, anderslautenden Handschriften im freien Wettbewerb umlaufender Texte durchgesetzt, scheint den Daten der biblische Textgeschichte in ihrer Gesamtheit weniger gut Rechnung zu tragen.

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<sup>23</sup> Das ist in der Idee impliziert, dass auch die authentische Interpretation der prophetischen Schriften selbst prophetisch ist: *Pescher Habakuk* VII, 3-5, vgl. K. Elliger, *Studien zum Habakuk-Kommentar vom Toten Meer* (BHT 15; Tübingen: Mohr, 1953), 189-191; G. J. Brooke, "Prophecy," in *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. Schiffman and VanderKam), 2:694-700, hier 698-699.

#### 4. Wie erklären sich die mannigfachen Textformen in Qumran?

##### 4.1. Die Analogie mit den pseudepigraphischen Schriften

Die pseudepigraphischen Schriften und die sog. parabiblischen Schriften, wie z.B. die Tempel-Rolle, das Jubiläenbuch und viele andere, die in Qumran gefunden wurden,<sup>24</sup> zeigen die grosse Nachfrage nach prophetischen Schriften in den vier Jahrhunderten vor unserer Zeitrechnung. Prophetische Schriften trugen die Autorität Gottes in sich, der sich den Propheten mitgeteilt hatte. Es gab Verfasser mit ihren Leserkreisen, die ihren theologischen Auffassungen oder Lehren solche prophetische und damit göttliche Autorität zuschrieben. Das brachten sie dadurch zum Ausdruck, dass sie ihre Schriften als Äusserungen allgemein anerkannter prophetischer Gestalten veröffentlichten.

Analog lassen sich *bibel-ähnliche* Werke verstehen. Sie kleiden theologische Überzeugungen in die Formen der von allen anerkannten biblischen Literatur. Für ihre Verfasser und für ihre Leserschaft waren sie genau so wie die älteren biblischen Bücher echte Äusserungen Gottes, vermittelt durch menschliche, prophetische Verfasser.

Diese literarische pseudepigraphische und bibel-ähnliche (parabiblische) Produktion erklärt sich wohl am einfachsten aus dem Wunsch von Verfassern und von Leserschaften, ihren Schriften jene breite und allgemeine Anerkennung zu verschaffen, welche der von allen Gruppierungen des Judentums anerkannte Pentateuch und die von den meisten Teilen der jüdischen Gemeinschaft anerkannten Propheten und deren Schriftwerke (die Bücher Jesaja, Jeremia, Ezechiel, Dodekapropheten, Psalmen u.a.m.) genossen. In diesem Bestreben wählten sie das Patronat von berühmten Menschen der Vergangenheit, die anerkanntermassen mit Gott in Verkehr standen, oder sie verwendeten die sprachlichen Formen der allen bekannten Tora oder der von der Mehrheit der Juden gelesenen prophetischen Schriften. Sie verfassten ihre eigenen neuen Werke nach diesem Modell.

Das bedeutet aber nicht, dass diese neuen Bücher die gleiche Breite und allgemeine Anerkennung erreicht hätten wie die Tora (der Pentateuch) und die biblischen Propheten. Die breite und im Fall des Pentateuchs *allgemeine Anerkennung*, die den alten, überlieferten biblischen Büchern zukam, ging den meisten pseudepigraphen und parabiblischen Büchern ab. Sie suchten sie vielmehr zu erringen.

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<sup>24</sup> Man spricht auch von *Rewritten Bible* und von *Reworked Pentateuch*: G. J. Brooke, "Rewritten Bible," in *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. Schiffman and VanderKam), 2:777-781; S. White Crawford, "Reworked Pentateuch," in *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. Schiffman and VanderKam), 2:775-777.

#### 4.2. Mehrfache Textgestalten in den biblischen Büchern in Qumran

Wenn in Qumran mehrfache Textformen von biblischen Büchern bezeugt sind, so erklärt sich diese Vielfalt ähnlich wie die pseudepigraphischen und die bibel-ähnlichen Schriften, die ebenfalls in Qumran bezeugt sind. Solche Textvielfalt hat zwei Gründe.

Erstens gab es mit weniger Sorgfalt geschriebene Handschriften. Nicht alle Schreiber hatten Zugang zu den genauesten und verlässlichsten *Master-copies*. Eine Genealogie von fehlerhaften Abschriften, die ihrerseits wieder fehlerhaft abgeschrieben wurden, führt zu einer anschwellenden Zahl von voneinander abweichenden Texten.

Zweitens und hauptsächlich, gab es wohl Kreise, die ihre Überzeugungen und Ansichten theologischer Art in bestimmten *Änderungen des überlieferten Bibeltextes* zum Ausdruck brachten, so wie es ihrerseits die pseudepigraphischen Verfasser mit dem über ihre Schriften gesetzten Patronat von Propheten der Vorzeit und die parabiblischen Schriften mit dem nachgeahmten biblischen Stil machten. Damit erklärten sie den prophetisch vermittelten göttlichen Ursprung und Rang solcher *neuer* Werke. Das ist verständlich: in religiösen Dingen haben die Propheten höchste Autorität. Denn sie standen in Berührung mit Gott, der sich ihnen offenbarte und mit ihnen sprach. Ihnen trug er auf, seine Botschaften öffentlich bekannt zu machen. Wer einer neuen Schrift diese Autorität verleihen wollte, oder die Leserkreise, welche in ihren eigenen Schriften eine solche göttliche Autorität sahen, mussten ihre literarischen Werke unter das Dach des prophetisch vermittelten Wortes stellen.

Das heisst nun aber nicht, dass alle diese *Versuche*, neuen Textformen in den überlieferten biblischen Büchern oder neuen bibel-ähnlichen Schriften allgemeine Anerkennung zu verschaffen, dieses Ziel auch erreichten. Daraus folgt das wichtige Ergebnis, dass wahrscheinlich nicht alle in Qumran belegten Textfassungen der biblischen Bücher oder alle bibel-ähnlichen Werke oder pseudepigraphische Schriften den *gleichen Grad der Geltung* hatten, der vor allem den Pentateuch und den biblischen Propheten von der grossen Mehrheit des Judentums zuerkannt wurde. Daher genügt es nicht, von der vorhandenen Mannigfaltigkeit des Bibeltextes und der bibel-ähnlichen Schriften zu reden, die von den biblischen Büchern nicht zu unterscheiden wären. Man muss den verschiedenen Grad ihrer Anerkennung und Geltung mitbedenken.

Es ist gewiss, dass die Ausdehnung der Anerkennung als prophetische Schrift in den verschiedenen Teilen des damaligen Judentums nicht für alle literarischen Werke aus der Zeit des Zweiten Tempels genau bestimmt werden kann. Aber die Tatsache, dass nicht-biblische Schriften als Heilige Schrift zitiert werden, oder dass die Textgestalt der biblischen Bücher selbst in mehreren Handschriften auseinandergeht, berechtigt nicht zur Annahme, diese Schriften und Textformen seien von gleichem Rang gewesen wie der Pentateuch, die Propheten oder die Psalmen. Das waren sie nicht, weil ihnen

die von allen oder von den meisten Juden entgegengebrachte und von niemandem bestrittene Anerkennung fehlte. Die partiellere und engere Anerkennung erklärt doch wohl auch ihr Verschwinden aus dem Kreis der in den folgenden Jahrhunderten weiter überlieferten heiligen Schriften im Judentum und in anderem Umfang im Christentum.<sup>25</sup>

### 5. Zehn Ergebnisse

- (1) Die *Tiqqune sopherim* bilden eine besondere Klasse von literarischen Varianten, deren Existenz in der Forschung allgemein anerkannt ist.
- (2) Sie implizieren eine Rezension des überlieferten Wortlautes der biblischen Bücher, in welchen solche Korrekturen vorkommen.
- (3) Rezensionen gehören nicht in den Bereich der *Abschrift* von Manuskripten, mit denen *Schreiber* betraut sind, sondern in den Bereich von *Mastercopies* oder *Ausgaben* literarischer Schriften, für welche Verfasser oder Herausgeber mit dem *copy-right* berechtigt sind. Diese allein können ein Dokument oder eine Schrift verändern und an Stelle der Vorgängerausgabe in der Öffentlichkeit in Umlauf bringen.
- (4) Was für die Schreiberkorrekturen im strengen Sinn gilt (jene Korrekturen, die in den traditionellen rabbinischen Listen als echte Korrekturen nachgewiesen werden können), das darf auf weitere analoge Textänderungen ausgeweitet werden, die nicht in den traditionellen Listen figurieren, aber textkritisch nachgewiesen werden können.
- (5) Solche Änderungen sind keine Schreibfehler oder Textanpassungen von Schreibern, sondern literarische Überarbeitungen.
- (6) Literarische Überarbeitungen bilden neben dem althergebrachten, noch unüberarbeiteten Wortlaut synoptische Varianten. Denn sie wandeln *denselben* literarischen Stoff an einer bestimmten Stelle ab.
- (7) Überlieferte prophetische Worte sind Wort Gottes an die Propheten, und daher sind sie grundsätzlich unantastbar. Nicht jedermann darf an sie rühren. Wenn sie unter bestimmten Umständen der Überarbeitung bedürfen, braucht es berechnete Kreise, die sie überarbeiten dürfen. Denn die prophetischen Worte sind das religiöse und geistige Eigentum jener Personen, an die sie gerichtet wurden, und ihrer "Rechtsnachfolger", d.h. jener Gemeinschaft, die den Adressaten nachfolgt und deren Hinterlassenschaft für sich übernehmen darf. Nur diese öffentliche Gemeinschaft ist durch autorisierte Vertreter zu Überarbeitungen berechtigt.
- (8) Daher entsprechen korrigierende oder literarische Überarbeitungen keinen privaten Initiativen, sondern bedürfen der "öffentlichen" Anerkennung. Die in Frage stehende Öffentlichkeit ist die Gemeinschaft, die den Adressaten der prophetischen Worte als geistige Erbin nachfolgt.

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<sup>25</sup> Es ist mir bewusst, dass die unter Punkt 4 gegebene Erklärung und Interpretation der Textvielfalt im Einzelnen begründet werden muss. Hier soll die Skizze genügen.



- (9) Damit ist ein synoptischer Text gegeben, einerseits in der alten, hergebrachten und anderseits in der überarbeiteten Form.
- (10) Die in den Handschriften von Qumran, im Samaritanus und in der altgriechischen Bibel bezeugte Textvielfalt geht nach alledem mit der Existenz einer massgeblichen überlieferten und einer massgeblich überarbeiteten Rezension mancher biblischer Bücher einher. Manche Eigenschaften der pseudepigraphischen und bibel-ähnlichen Schriften deuten darauf hin, dass ihre Verfasser und deren Leserschaften diesen neuen Büchern eine gleiche Anerkennung verschaffen wollten, wie sie den alten, allgemein anerkannten Schriften des Pentateuchs und der Propheten von allen oder von den meisten Juden entgegengebracht wurde.

## “DREISSIG JAHRE WAR DAVID ALT, ALS ER KÖNIG WURDE...” (2 SAM 5,4)

Literarische und textkritische Studie der Regierungsnotizen in den  
Samuelbüchern

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Die Erzählung der Herrschaft Davids ist von drei Regierungsnotizen umrahmt (2 Sam 2,11; 5,4-5; 1 Kön 2,11), die üblicherweise der deuteronomistischen Redaktion zugeordnet werden.<sup>1</sup> Die erste betrifft Davids Zeit in Hebron als König von Juda, während die zweite und die dritte sich auf die gesamte Herrschaftszeit Davids beziehen. Nun sind die Verse in 2 Sam 5 nicht in allen Texttraditionen bezeugt, da 4QSam<sup>a</sup> und die *Vetus Latina* diese Notiz nicht enthalten.

Die Absicht dieses Aufsatzes ist es, die literarischen Aspekte der Abwesenheit bzw. Anwesenheit dieser Notiz, aber auch der anderen Regierungsnotizen (Sauls und Ischboschets) in den Samuelbüchern zu untersuchen. Die Problematik der unterschiedlichen Chronologie der Königsherrschaften in der LXX und im MT der Bücher 1 und 2 Könige ist bekannt und wurde bereits eingehend untersucht.<sup>2</sup> Mit den Regierungsnotizen in den Samuelbüchern stellt sich ein ähnliches Problem: Die verschiedenen Textgestalten

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<sup>1</sup> Vgl. M. Noth, *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien. Die sammelnden und bearbeitenden Geschichtswerke im Alten Testament* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1967), 25 Fn 2 und 66 Fn 1 (wo er jedoch 1 Kön 2,11 als nachdr. betrachtet); J. H. Grønbaek, *Die Geschichte vom Aufstieg Davids (1. Sam. 15 – 2. Sam. 5). Tradition und Komposition* (ATDan 10; Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1971), 248; T. Veijola, *Die ewige Dynastie. David und die Entstehung seiner Dynastie nach der deuteronomistischen Darstellung* (AASF-B 193; Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedekatemia, 1975), 6-7 (Fn), 23, 97; A. A. Anderson, *2 Samuel* (WBC 11; Dallas: Word, 1989), 75; J. Vermeylen, *La loi du plus fort. Histoire de la rédaction des récits davidiques de 1 Samuel 8 à 1 Rois 2* (BETL 154; Leuven: University Press, 2000), 193, 213.

<sup>2</sup> Vgl. J. D. Shenkel, *Chronology and Recensional Development in the Greek Text of Kings* (HSM 1; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1968); A. G. Green, “Regnal Formulas in the Hebrew and Greek Texts of the Books of Kings,” *JNES* 3 (1983): 167-180; G. Galil, *The Chronology of the Kings of Israel and Judah* (SHCANE 9; Leiden: Brill, 1996); A. Schenker, *Älteste Textgeschichte der Königsbücher. Die hebräische Vorlage der ursprünglichen Septuaginta als älteste Textform der Königsbücher* (OBO 199; Fribourg: Academic Press; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004); M. C. Tetley, *The Reconstructed Chronology of the Divided Kingdom*, (Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2005).

zeigen in ihrem strukturellen Aufbau unterschiedliche ideologische Akzente, die als starke Indizien für eine Überlappung von Literar- und Textgeschichte in hellenistischer Zeit gewertet werden können.

Vor der Untersuchung der literarischen Bedeutung der kurzen bzw. langen Form von 2 Sam 5 sind einige paläographische und textkritische Beobachtungen nötig.

### 1. Paläographische und textkritische Beobachtungen zu 2 Sam 5,4-5

Obwohl 4QSam<sup>a</sup> an der fraglichen Stelle nur fragmentarisch überliefert ist,<sup>3</sup> kann man anhand der noch lesbaren Reste trotzdem zeigen, dass der bezeugte Text nicht die V. 4-5 des MT wiedergeben kann: Es gibt in der Tat eine Lücke zwischen וְהָיָה בְּחֶבְרוֹן und וְהָיָה (Zeilen 14-15 in der Rekonstruktion von DJD). Wenn das zweite Wort sicherlich V. 6 bezeugt, kann nicht בְּחֶבְרוֹן der Beginn von V. 5 sein, wie er im MT steht. V. 5 ist nämlich zu lang für eine einzige Zeile der Handschrift. Vermutlich bezeugen die Überreste בְּחֶבְרוֹן den Namen Hebron im V. 3: dieser Vers enthält tatsächlich die genau angepasste Textquantität für eine Zeile, wie DJD, Herbert und die anderen paläographischen Untersuchungen zeigen.<sup>4</sup> Es ist daraus zu schliessen, dass 4QSam<sup>a</sup> vermutlich einen Text bezeugt, der die V. 4-5 nicht enthält.

Die altlateinische Handschrift *Vindobonensis* (La<sup>115</sup>) ihrerseits überspringt ohne Zweifel die gleichen Verse.<sup>5</sup> Diese Unzialhandschrift des 5. Jh. ist ein guter Zeuge der *Vetus Latina* und daher der alten LXX. Die griechischen Handschriften dagegen haben alle diese Notiz, jedoch mit kleinen inhaltlichen Unterschieden. Die Mehrheit der LXX mit dem *Codex Vaticanus* (B) entspricht dem MT, während der antiochenische Text (*L*) eine vermutlich angepasste Jahres- und Monatszählung enthält, die mit der Gesamtzahl von vierzig Jahren (sieben Jahre und sechs Monate *plus zwei- unddreissig Jahre und sechs Monate*) übereinstimmt.<sup>6</sup> Es ist daher anzunehmen, dass die ganze schriftliche Überlieferung auf Griechisch die rezensierte, an den MT angepasste Form enthält – und sogar eine weiter

<sup>3</sup> F. M. Cross, D. Parry, and E. Ulrich, *Qumran Cave 4.XII: 1-2 Samuel* (DJD XVII; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2005), 118-121.

<sup>4</sup> E. Ulrich, *The Qumran Text of Samuel and Josephus* (HSM 19; Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press, 1978), 60; E. D. Herbert, *Reconstructing Biblical Dead Sea Scrolls. A New Method Applied to the Reconstruction of 4QSam<sup>a</sup>* (STDJ 22; Leiden/New York: Brill, 1997), 118; Cross, Parry, and Ulrich, *Qumran Cave 4.XII*, 120. Diese Autoren zeigen alle, dass בְּחֶבְרוֹן nicht der Ausdruck von V. 5 sein kann, weil es sonst zu viel Text bis zum V. 7 gäbe.

<sup>5</sup> B. Fischer, "Palimpseste Vindobonensis," in B. Fischer, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der lateinischen Bibeltexte* (Aus der Geschichte der Lateinischen Bibel 12; Freiburg i. B.: Herder, 1986), 308-438, bes. 352.

<sup>6</sup> *L*: καὶ ἐβασίλευσεν ἐν Χεβρών ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰούδαν ἔτη ἑπτὰ καὶ μῆνας ἕξ καὶ ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἐβασίλευσεν τριάκοντα καὶ δύο ἔτη καὶ μῆνας ἕξ ἐπὶ πάντα Ἰσραὴλ καὶ Ἰούδαν.

harmonisierte Fassung in *L* –, während *La*<sup>115</sup> vermutlich die älteste und unrezensierte *LXX* bezeugt, wie schon gezeigt wurde.<sup>7</sup>

Ausserdem hat Ulrich überzeugend gezeigt, dass Flavius Josephus (*Ant.* VII, 54-55) sehr wahrscheinlich eine Vorlage ohne Notiz vor Augen hatte.<sup>8</sup> In der Tat gibt Josephus in *Ant.* VII, 65 und 389 die Notiz von 2 Sam 2,11 und 1 Kön 2,11 genau wieder,<sup>9</sup> ohne einige spezifische Elemente von 5,4-5 zu übernehmen: nämlich das Alter von David (“dreissig Jahre alt”) und die Erwähnung von Juda neben Israel. Diese Besonderheiten der V. 4-5 waren ihm vermutlich unbekannt.

Ähnliches lässt sich auch für die Chronikbücher annehmen, weil die Regierungsnotizen<sup>10</sup> über David in 1 Chr 3,4<sup>11</sup> und 29,26-28 diese erwähnten Besonderheiten von 2 Sam 5,4-5 ebenfalls nicht enthalten.

Abschliessend ist die Zusammengehörigkeit dieser Textzeugen, bes. der *La*<sup>115</sup> bzw. der ältesten *LXX* und der Qumran-Fragmente, ein solider Beweis einer alten Textgestalt ohne Regierungsnotiz in 2 Sam 5. Eine Aufgabe ist es daher, der Ursache für die Abwesenheit bzw. Anwesenheit dieser Notiz nachzugehen. Dass das Fehlen das Ergebnis einer Korruption ist, ist noch nie wirklich behauptet worden, weil ein *Homoio-teleuton* von על־יִשְׁרָאֵל am Ende von V. 3 bis zu כָּל־יִשְׁרָאֵל וַיהוָה am Ende von V. 5 ausgeschlossen ist.<sup>12</sup> Es ist daher anzunehmen, dass die älteste *LXX* und 4QSam<sup>a</sup>, vermutlich auch der durch Josephus bezeugte Text und die Vorlage des 1 Chronikbuches eine gemeinsame qualitative Variante bezeugen. Alle Autoren, die diese Textschwierigkeit berücksichtigt haben, argumentieren auf der inhaltlichen Ebene, eine Vorgehensweise, die auch hier befolgt werden soll.

<sup>7</sup> So Ulrich, *Qumran Text*, 62; D. Barthélemy, “La qualité du Texte Massorétique de Samuel,” in *The Hebrew and Greek Texts of Samuel. 1980 Proceedings IOSCS in Vienna* (ed. E. Tov; Jerusalem: Academon, 1980), 18; J. Treballe Barrera, „El estudio de 4QSam<sup>a</sup>: Implicaciones exegéticas e históricas,” *EstBib* 39 (1981): 14; P. K. McCarter, *II Samuel. A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 9; New York: Doubleday, 1984), 131; S. Pisano, *Additions or Omissions in the Books of Samuel. The Significant Pluses and Minuses in the Massoretic, LXX and Qumran Texts* (OBO 57; Freiburg Schweiz: Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984), 100.

<sup>8</sup> Ulrich, *Qumran Text*, 61.

<sup>9</sup> An beiden Stellen hat Josephus “sieben Jahre und sechs Monate in Juda”, aber dies ist nicht unbedingt das Zeichen eines Einflusses von 2 Sam 5,4-5, sondern sicherlich von 2,11 (bzw. 1 Chr 3,4).

<sup>10</sup> Die Erzählung der Krönung Davids über ganz Israel in 1 Chr 11 enthält keine Regierungsnotiz.

<sup>11</sup> Es ist hier von “sieben Jahren und sechs Monaten” in Hebron die Rede. Diese Zeitangabe ist auch von mehreren Zeugen der *LXX* bezeugt, aber nicht durch B. Diese Zeitangabe kann wohl aus 2 Sam 2,11 MT kommen.

<sup>12</sup> Vgl. S. L. McKenzie, *The Chronicler's Use of the Deuteronomistic History* (HSM 33; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1985), 43.

## 2. Literarkritische und textgeschichtliche Überlegungen

Die literarische Funktion der Regierungsnotiz in 2 Sam 5,4-5MT wurde durch zahlreiche redaktionskritische Studien untersucht, aber kaum mit Rücksicht auf die neuen textlichen Daten.<sup>13</sup> Dass 2 Sam 5,4-5, 2 Sam 2,11 und 1 Kön 2,11 literarisch verwandt sind, ist unbestritten, obwohl die erstgenannte Notiz spezifische Elemente enthält.<sup>14</sup>

2 Sam 2,11	2 Sam 5,4-5	1 Kön 2,11
Und die Zahl der Tage, die David in Hebron über das Haus Juda König war, betrug sieben Jahre <i>und sechs Monate</i> .	<sup>4</sup> <u>Dreissig Jahre war David alt, als er König wurde; vierzig Jahre lang war er König.</u> <sup>5</sup> In Hebron war er sieben Jahre <i>und sechs Monate</i> König über Juda, und in Jerusalem war er dreiunddreissig Jahre König <u>über ganz Israel und Juda.</u>	Und die Tage, die David über Israel König war, betrug vierzig Jahre.  In Hebron war er sieben Jahre König,  und in Jerusalem war er dreiunddreissig Jahre König*.  * + <i>über Israel</i> in L

2 Sam 5 ist die einzige Notiz, die das Alter Davids und die Herrschaftsbereiche “über Juda” und “über ganz Israel und Juda” erwähnt, obwohl die durch L bezeugte älteste LXX in 1 Kön 2 auch “über Israel” enthält. Gemeinsam mit 2 Sam 2,11 hat sie die schwierige Zeitangabe von sieben-einhalb Jahren Herrschaft über Juda in Hebron. Diese Zeitangabe steht im Konflikt mit der Gesamtrechnung der Herrschaft Davids von vierzig Jahren.

Wie schon erwähnt wurden diese Notizen üblicherweise als dtr. annalistische Einfügungen betrachtet.<sup>15</sup> Die neuesten literarkritischen Studien erklären jedoch ihre Zusammengehörigkeit und ihre chronologische Abhängigkeit auf unterschiedliche Weisen. Die eine Herangehensweise besteht darin, 1 Kön 2,11 als eine nachträgliche und korrigierende Übernahme der redaktionellen Glosse von 2 Sam 5,4-5 zu betrachten. Der spätere Glossator hätte einerseits die Zeitangabe von sieben-einhalb Jahren aus 2 Sam 5,5 (und 2,11) korrigiert, um eine Übereinstimmung mit der gesamten Regierungszeit von vierzig Jahren herbeizuführen. Andererseits hätte er die Formulierung der Notiz geändert, um den dtr. Königsformularen im Buch der Könige zu ent-

<sup>13</sup> A. A. Fischer, *Von Hebron nach Jerusalem. Eine redaktionsgeschichtliche Studie zur Erzählung von König David in II Sam 1-5* (BZAW 335; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2004), 222, erwähnt dennoch die Abwesenheit dieser Verse in 4QSam<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>14</sup> In der folgenden Synopse ist der MT übersetzt, weil die LXX keine inhaltlichen Unterschiede hat, außer die Abwesenheit von 2 Sam 5,4-5 in der mutmaßlichen ältesten LXX-Version.

<sup>15</sup> Vgl. Fn 1.

sprechen.<sup>16</sup> Laut Otto Kaiser kann die chronologische Reihenfolge der Notizen folgendermassen rekonstruiert werden: 2 Sam 2,11 und 2 Sam 5,5 enthalten die schwierigsten und daher ältesten Zeitangaben, die “aus dem primären dtr. Königsbuch stammen” können; der Redaktor hätte dann diese Angaben in 2 Sam 5,4 und in 1 Kön 2,11 geglättet.<sup>17</sup> Es gibt aber eine andere und gegensätzliche Argumentation, die die Notiz von 1 Kön 2,11 als die älteste betrachtet.<sup>18</sup> Für Klaus-Peter Adam ist das Alter Davids in 2 Sam 5,4 eine Ergänzung gegenüber 1 Kön 2,11. Für Alexander A. Fischer ist zwar 1 Kön 2,11 der Ursprung für die Einfügung der chronologischen Daten in 2 Sam 2,11 und 5,5, jedoch gehören für ihn 2 Sam 5,4 und 5,5 literarisch nicht ursprünglich zusammen: V. 4 wäre eine ursprüngliche – bzw. von der ursprünglichen Gesamtedition verantwortete – königliche Einführungsformel, mit der für diese Formel typischen Angabe des Alters.<sup>19</sup> Laut Fischer wurden dann in V. 5 die zwei Regierungsphasen aus 1 Kön 2,11 eingefügt, aber mit sechs zusätzlichen Monaten in Hebron:

Offenkundig wurde David schon in Hebron zum König über Israel gesalbt, so dass sein Regierungsantritt nicht mit dem Residenzwechsel zusammenfällt. Um die Spannung zwischen 5,3f und 5,5 auszugleichen, hat der Bearbeiter vermutlich die siebenjährige Regentschaft Davids in Hebron um sechs Monate verlängert, die er für den Umzug nach Jerusalem ansetzte. Da dieser Zeitraum die Jahresfrist nicht überschritt, konnte er die üblicherweise in vollen Jahren bemessene Herrschaftsdauer unverändert aus 1 Reg 2,11 übernehmen und Davids Jerusalemer Regierungsjahre direkt auf sein Königtum über Gesamtisrael beziehen.<sup>20</sup>

Diese Beobachtungen müssen aber mit den textlichen Daten geprüft werden. Wie kann die Abwesenheit dieser Notiz von 2 Sam 5 in mehreren

<sup>16</sup> Vgl. S. Seiler, *Die Geschichte von Thronfolge Davids (2 Sam 9–20; 1 Kön 1–2). Untersuchungen zur Literarkritik und Tendenz* (BZAW 267; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1998), 81; O. Kaiser, “Das Verhältnis der Erzählung vom König David zum sogenannten Deuteronomistischen Geschichtswerk. Am Beispiel von 1 Kön 1–2 untersucht. Ein Gespräch mit John Van Seters,” in *Die sogenannte Thronfolgegeschichte Davids. Neue Einsichten und Anfragen* (ed. A. de Pury und T. Römer; OBO 176; Freiburg Schweiz: Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000), 118–120.

<sup>17</sup> Kaiser, “Das Verhältnis,” 120.

<sup>18</sup> So Fischer, *Von Hebron nach Jerusalem*, 85–93; K.-P. Adam, *Saul und David in der jüdischen Geschichtsschreibung. Studien zu 1 Samuel 16 – 2 Samuel 5* (FAT 51; Tübingen: Mohr, 2007), 34.

<sup>19</sup> Die Formel am Anfang der königlichen Regierung vermerkt das Alter des Königs: 2 Kön 12,1.2b; 18,1; 21,1; 23,1. Siehe S. R. Bin-Nun, “Formulas from Royal Records of Israel and Judah,” *VT* 18 (1968): 421.

<sup>20</sup> Fischer, *Von Hebron nach Jerusalem*, 91. Die gleiche Hand hätte sowohl die gleichen Daten in 2 Sam 2,11 als auch den Beitritt der Judäer hinter David in V. 10b eingeführt. Die ursprüngliche Gesamtfassung hatte also eine Parallele zwischen den drei Regierungsnotizen von Saul (1 Sam 13,1), Ishboshet (2 Sam 12,10a) und David (2 Sam 5,4). Näheres dazu s. unten.

Textzeugen erklärt werden? Laut Dominique Barthélemy und Stephen Pisano wollte der Übersetzer bzw. der Editor von 4QSam<sup>a</sup> die arithmetische Schwierigkeit zwischen den vierzig Jahren in V. 4 und den sieben Jahren und sechs Monaten in V. 5 vermeiden.<sup>21</sup> Dafür hat er die ganze Notiz (V. 4-5) einfach gestrichen. Während man für die Qumran-Handschrift annehmen kann, dass eine literarische Bearbeitung einige Verse löscht,<sup>22</sup> ist dasselbe Phänomen für die griechische Übersetzung nicht zu erwarten. Ein solcher Wegfall kann nur in der hebräischen Vorlage geschehen sein.<sup>23</sup> Aber dann stellt sich die Frage, warum ein Editor die ganze Notiz hätte wegfallen lassen, anstatt die Daten einfach nach 1 Kön 2,11 zu korrigieren oder die Arithmetik anzupassen, wie *L* es später gemacht hat. Die Erklärung durch Wegfall ist m.E. nicht überzeugend.

Alternativ besteht die Möglichkeit, dass die Regierungsnotiz in 2 Sam 5,4-5 ein später Nachtrag in MT nach der dtr. Schreibweise ist, so Kyle McCarter.<sup>24</sup> Julio Trebolle spricht eher von einer proto-rabinischen, expansiven Glosse, die einerseits die beiden Notizen von 2 Sam 2,11 und 1 Kön 2,11 verbindet und daher harmonisiert, und andererseits zusätzliche Formelemente anfügt.<sup>25</sup> Man kann daher drei literarische Funktionen des Zusatzes der Regierungsnotiz in 2 Sam 5 identifizieren:

Erstens: Die Zusammenstellung aller chronologischen Daten von 2 Sam 2,11 und 1 Kön 2,11: Vierzig Jahre Herrschaft (1 Kön), zwei unterschiedliche Regierungsphasen (1 Kön), sieben Jahre und sechs Monate in Hebron (2 Sam 2), und dreiunddreissig Jahre in Jerusalem (1 Kön). Dies verursacht zwar eine Spannung, aber für den Redaktor sind diese sechs Monate keine Schwierigkeit, da nur die vollen Jahre gezählt werden.<sup>26</sup> Vor allem sind alle zugänglichen Daten in einer einzelnen Notiz verbunden.

<sup>21</sup> Barthélemy, "La qualité," 17-18; Pisano, *Additions or Omissions*, 98-101; S. Pisano, "2 Samuel 5-8 et le deutéronomiste: critique textuelle ou critique littéraire?" in *Israël construit son histoire. L'historiographie deutéronomiste à la lumière des recherches récentes* (ed. A. de Pury, T. Römer et J.-D. Macchi; Le Monde de la Bible 34; Genève: Labor et Fides, 1996), 243-245.

<sup>22</sup> Studien zeigen, dass 4QSam<sup>a</sup> neben alten Lesarten tatsächlich auch literarische Umgestaltungen des Textes bezeugt: vgl. P. Hugo, "The Text History of the Books of Samuel," in *Archaeology of the Books of Samuel. The Entangling of the Textual and Literary History* (ed. P. Hugo and A. Schenker; VTSup 132; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 1-19.

<sup>23</sup> So Pisano, *Additions or Omissions*, 100.

<sup>24</sup> Vgl. McCarter, *II Samuel*, 133: "The possibility is raised that the present notice (...) and others like it pertaining to the period of the united monarchy were not original part of the Deuteronomistic framework of Samuel-Kings but were inserted very late additions to the text in the spirit of the authentically Deuteronomistic notices that pertain to the reigns of the kings of the divided monarchy."

<sup>25</sup> Vgl. Trebolle Barrera, "El estudio de 4QSam<sup>a</sup>," 16-17. Siehe auch A. G. Auld, *I & II Samuel* (OTL; Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox, 2011), 395.

<sup>26</sup> A. Caquot et P. de Robert, *Les livres de Samuel* (CAT 6; Genève: Labor et Fides, 1994), 401; Fischer, *Von Hebron nach Jerusalem*, 91.

Zweitens: Die Einfügung von Davids Alter zu Beginn seiner Herrschaft: *בְּיָמָיו שָׁנָה דָּוִד בְּמָלְכוֹ*. Mit dieser Formulierung wird diese Notiz eine Antrittsformel, wie man sie typischerweise in den Königsbüchern findet (2 Kön 12,1.2b; 18,2; 21,1; 23,1). Sie liefert eine zusätzliche biographische Angabe und wird passend am Anfang der neuen Herrschaftsphase eingefügt.

Drittens: Die Einfügung des Ausdruckes: *עַל-יִשְׂרָאֵל וְיְהוּדָה* ... *עַל-יְהוּדָה*, „über Juda... über ganz Israel und Juda.“ Während der Ausdruck „ganz Israel“ die Gesamtheit der Nord- und Südteile des Königreiches bezeichnen kann,<sup>27</sup> werden hier beide ausdrücklich genannt, Juda allein und Israel und Juda zusammen. Dies unterstreicht die Vereinigung der beiden „feindlichen Brüder“ unter der Herrschaft Davids. Vielleicht zeigt auch die Einfügung Judas eine pro-judäische Tendenz, die nach der Salbung Davids zum König Israels (2 Sam 5,1-3) die Herrschaft des Königs über den Süden betont.

Halten wir abschliessend fest: Die Notiz in 2 Sam 5,4-5, mit der Zusammenstellung der verschiedenen königlichen Formeln über David und mit den zusätzlichen Elementen, bildet ein feierliches Eingangsportal, einen literarischen Auftakt für die Herrschaft Davids über das vereinigte Königreich. Diese Analyse zeigt die vielschichtige literarische Funktion der Regierungsnotiz in 2 Sam 5. Sie zeigt m.E. auch, wie problematisch die Annahme eines Wegfallens dieser Antrittsformel aufgrund purer Arithmetik ist.

Wenn die nachträgliche Einfügung der Verse wahrscheinlicher ist, müssen die anderen Regierungsnotizen der Samuelbücher in die Untersuchung einbezogen werden, um die Frage nach dem Grund einer solchen Einfügung besser beantworten zu können.

### 3. Die Regierungsnotizen in den Samuelbüchern und die Sukzession der Könige (1 Sam 13,1; 2 Sam 2,10a; 5,4-5)

Neben den drei annalistischen Notizen über David findet man in den Samuelbüchern MT zwei andere Regierungsformeln, die die Königserhebungen sowohl Sauls als auch Ischboshets betreffen (1 Sam 13,1; 2 Sam 2,10a). Alexander Achilles Fischer zeigt zu Recht, dass diese Formeln als eine bewusste literarische Reihenfolge angelegt sind:

Über I Sam 13,1; II Sam 2,10a; 5,4 ergibt sich somit eine Sukzession *Saul – Ischboschet – David*, die den Übergang der Herrschaft über Israel vom saulidischen zum davidischen Königshaus dokumentiert.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>27</sup> J. W. Flanagan, „Judah in All Israel,” in *No Famine in the Land: Studies in Honor of John L. McKenzie* (ed. J. W. Flanagan and A. W. Robinson; Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press, 1975), 101-116.

<sup>28</sup> Fischer, *Von Hebron nach Jerusalem*, 222.



1 Sam 13,1	2 Sam 2,10a	2 Sam 5,4-5
<p>בְּיָשְׁנָה שְׁאֹל בְּמָלְכוֹ וּשְׁתֵּי שָׁנִים מָלָךְ עַל־יִשְׂרָאֵל:</p> <p>... Jahre war Saul alt, als er König wurde; und er war zwei Jahre König über Israel.</p>	<p>בְּיָרְבָעִים שָׁנָה אִישׁ־בֶּשֶׁת בְּיָשְׁאֹל בְּמָלְכוֹ עַל־יִשְׂרָאֵל וּשְׁתֵּים־עָשָׂר שָׁנִים מָלָךְ</p> <p>Vierzig Jahre war Ischboschet, der Sohn Sauls, alt, als er über Israel König wurde, und er war zwei Jahre König.</p>	<p>בְּיָשְׁלֹשִׁים שָׁנָה דָּוִד בְּמָלְכוֹ אַרְבָּעִים שָׁנָה מָלָךְ: בְּחֶבְרוֹן מָלָךְ עַל־יְהוּדָה שִׁבְעַת שָׁנִים וְשִׁשָּׁה חֳדָשִׁים וּבִירוּשָׁלַם מָלָךְ שְׁלֹשִׁים וְשֵׁשׁ שָׁנָה עַל כָּל־יִשְׂרָאֵל וְיְהוּדָה:</p> <p><sup>4</sup>Dreissig Jahre war David alt, als er König wurde; vierzig Jahre lang war er König. <sup>5</sup>In Hebron war er sieben Jahre und sechs Monate König über Juda, und in Jerusalem war er dreiunddreissig Jahre König über ganz Israel und Juda.</p>

Die drei Notizen sind in der Tat absolut parallel aufgebaut, auf grammatischer, syntaktischer und inhaltlicher Ebene: Antrittsformeln mit Alter des Königs (בְּיָשְׁנָה ... בְּמָלְכוֹ), Dauer der Regierungszeit (שְׁנָה מָלָךְ ...) und Herrschaftsbereich (עַל מָלְכוֹ).

1 Sam 13,1 birgt aber zwei grundsätzliche Probleme. Erstens scheint die Chronologie der Notiz lückenhaft bzw. fehlerhaft. Zweitens ist die Notiz in der ältesten LXX bzw. in ihrer Vorlage nicht bezeugt. Sie wurde erst durch die hexaplarische Rezension in die griechische Überlieferung eingefügt.<sup>29</sup>

### 3.1. Chronologische Schwierigkeiten in 1 Sam 13,1

Wenn diese Antrittsnotiz am richtigen Ort – unmittelbar nach Sauls Salbung (1 Sam 11,15)<sup>30</sup> – liegt, stellt sie ein doppeltes chronologisches Problem dar: Erstens fehlt das Alter Sauls (בְּיָשְׁנָה), zweitens sind die zwei Jahre Herrschaft Sauls historisch nicht realistisch. Diese Schwierigkeiten haben zu mehreren Erklärungshypothesen geführt, wovon ich nur die wichtigsten oder plausibelsten kurz skizziere.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>29</sup> Der antiochenische Text (L) und die *Vetus Latina* (La<sup>91-95</sup>) bezeugen diesen Vers unter dem Einfluss der hexaplarischen Rezension; C. Morano Rodríguez, *Glosas marginales de Vetus Latina en las Biblias vulgatas españolas, 1-2 Samuel* (TECC 48; Madrid: Instituto de Filología CSIC, 1989). Einige antiochenische Handschriften (82 93 108<sup>ms</sup>) und die 158 Minuskelhandschrift haben außerdem Sauls Alter auf dreißig Jahre (τριάκοντα ἔτων) korrigiert.

<sup>30</sup> Die Rede Samuels in 12,1-25 ist im Kontext der Salbungsliturgie in Gilgal literarisch angesiedelt.

<sup>31</sup> Vgl. S. Kreuzer, “‘Saul war noch zwei Jahre König...’ Textgeschichtliche, literarische und historische Beobachtungen zu 1 Sam 13,1,” *BN* 40 (1996): 263-270; D. T. Tsumura, *The First Book of Samuel* (NICOT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007), 330-333.

Da das Zurückgreifen auf Ugarit, um בן als Komparativ innerhalb eines poetischen Ausdrucks zu erklären (“Mehr als ein Jahr war Saul König, vielleicht mehr als zwei Jahre...”) nicht überzeugend ist,<sup>32</sup> versuchen die Exegeten בן-שנה als zusammengehörige Formulierung zu deuten. Der Ausdruck, der an sich “ein Jahr alt” bedeuten kann (vgl. Lev 23,18; Num 29,36), wird oft als undefiniert verstanden, nämlich “ein gewisses Alter” bzw. “schon ziemlich alt”. Siegfried Kreuzer schlägt daher die folgende Übersetzung vor: “Saul war bei seinem Königsein schon ziemlich alt geworden.”<sup>33</sup> Es ist aber wohl möglich, dass die Zeitangabe – möglicherweise auch die Regierungsdauer – einfach immer lückenhaft war, vielleicht weil der Redaktor diese schlicht nicht kannte.<sup>34</sup> Ähnliches ist offensichtlich auch in der altorientalischen Literatur, in Wirtschaftstexten oder in königlichen Chroniken, bezeugt.<sup>35</sup> Eine andere Deutungsmöglichkeit hat Siam Bhayro vorgeschlagen.<sup>36</sup> Er denkt, dass der Konsonantentext בן-שנה sehr früh in der Antike missverstanden wurde, wie die jüdischen Traditionen und der Targum es zeigen. Laut Bhayro wurde der Ausdruck ursprünglich mit dem Verb שנה, “ändern, verschieden sein, verändern” gebildet. Diese Wurzel ist mehrmals in den semitischen Sprachen mit dem Sinn “wahnsinnig, geisteskrank sein/werden” bezeugt.<sup>37</sup> Auf Hebräisch findet man שנה im *Piel* in 1 Sam 21,14 mit diesem Sinn:<sup>38</sup> וַיִּשְׁנֵנוּ אֶת-טַעְמוֹ בְּעֵינֵיהֶם וַיַּהֲלֵל בְּיָדָם, “Und er stellte sich wahnsinnig (*oder* verstellte sein Gebaren) vor ihren Augen und tobte unter ihren Händen.” Bhayro versteht daher der Ausdruck von 1 Sam 13,1 als Partizip וַיִּשְׁנֶה וַיִּשְׁנֶה und übersetzt: “Saul war wahnsinnig (Sohn eines Wahnsinnigen), als er König geworden ist.” Nach dieser Interpretation bezeuge der Vers keine textliche Verwirrung, sondern ein Vokalisationsversehen wegen eines Missverständnisses dieses absichtlichen Wortspieles.

<sup>32</sup> R. Althann, “1 Sam 13,1: A Poetic Couplet,” *Bib* 62 (1981): 241-242.

<sup>33</sup> Kreuzer, “Saul,” 266. Er präzisiert: “der Terminus (könnte) in älteren Texten eine eigene Bedeutung haben” (Fn 20); Tsumura, *Samuel*, 333: “a certain age.”

<sup>34</sup> So O. Thenius, *Die Bücher Samuels* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.; Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch zum Alten Testament 4; Leipzig: Hirzel, 1864), 49; J. Wellhausen, *Der Text der Bücher Samuelis* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1871), 79; Noth, *Überlieferungs-geschichtliche Studien*, 24 Fn 3; P. K. McCarter, *1 Samuel. A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 8; New York: Doubleday, 1980), 222-223: er denkt, dass beide Zeitangaben des Alters und der Regierungsdauer ursprünglich lückenhaft waren; D. Barthélemy, *Critique textuelle de l'Ancien Testament*, vol. 1: *Josué, Juges, Ruth, Samuel, Rois, Chroniques, Esdras, Néhémie, Esther* (OBO 50/1; Fribourg: Editions universitaires; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1982), 176.

<sup>35</sup> Vgl. Kreuzer, “Saul,” 266, und Tsumura, *Samuel*, 332, mit Literaturhinweisen.

<sup>36</sup> S. Bhayro, “The Madness of King Saul,” *AO* 50 (2003/2004): 285-292.

<sup>37</sup> Bhayro, “The Madness,” 290: Beispiele auf Akkadisch, Aramäisch, Syrisch, Arabisch und Äthiopisch.

<sup>38</sup> Vgl. HAL; W. Gesenius, *Hebräisches und aramäisches Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament* (18. Auflage; Berlin: Springer, 2013).

Furthermore, I would suggest that this statement is being made in the form of a carefully conceived pun. This pun couches the statement about Saul's state of mind in the form of the expected regal formulae. But rather than actually give a proper introduction to Saul's reign, and thus confer upon him the status of Israel's first legitimate king, the narrator turns the introductory formula into a witty pointed attack on Saul's mental state – a suitable introduction to the disastrous narrative that follows and a good explanation for Saul's often unpredictable behaviour.<sup>39</sup>

Laut dieser bestechenden Hypothese von Bhayro ist dieser Ausdruck eine bewusste Diskreditierung der Königswürde Sauls am Anfang seiner Herrschaft.

Was die Regierungsdauer anbelangt, denkt Martin Noth, trotz ihrer historischen Schwierigkeit, dass sie in das chronologische System des DtrG passt (480 Jahre vom Exodus bis zur Herrschaft Salomos, 1 Kön 6,1).<sup>40</sup> Diese Zahl wird aber in der Rezeption des Textes, sogar in vielen modernen Übersetzungen, weitgehend korrigiert und harmonisiert. Josephus gibt die Regierungsdauer verschieden an: In *Ant.* VI, 378 sind es achtzehn Jahre während Samuels Leben und danach noch zweiundzwanzig Jahre,<sup>41</sup> in *Ant.* X, 143 hingegen zwanzig Jahre. Im Neuen Testament erwähnt die Apostelgeschichte eine Herrschaft Sauls von vierzig Jahren (Apg 13,21). Siegfried Kreuzer schlägt eine alternative Deutung der Zeitangaben vor: Er versteht den Satz *וְשָׁנִים קָלָךְ עַל־יִשְׂרָאֵל* als eine Datierung des Zeitumstands, eine Bestimmung der Zeit. Die Zeitangabe "ist keine Aussage über die Gesamtdauer der Wirksamkeit Sauls, sondern bezieht sich auf die noch bevorstehenden Ereignisse,"<sup>42</sup> nämlich die Einberufung seiner militärischen Truppen für die Kampagne gegen die Philister (13,2ff). Er übersetzt also: "Saul war noch zwei Jahre König. Und er hat sich 3000 aus Israel ausgewählt..." Die typische Struktur der analistischen Notiz macht aber diese Interpretation unwahrscheinlich. Es scheint daher besser, die zwei Jahre Regierungszeit so zu verstehen, wie sie dastehen. Die zweijährige Dauer zeigt, wie unbedeutend Sauls Herrschaft war, und lässt an Ischboshets Regierungszeit denken (2 Sam 2,10a). Dies könnte ironisch<sup>43</sup> oder zumindest als ein negatives Urteil des Erzählers (bzw. des Redaktors) über die Herrschaft Sauls zu verstehen sein.<sup>44</sup> In dieser Hinsicht ist es eine sehr

<sup>39</sup> Bhayro, "The Madness," 291.

<sup>40</sup> Noth, *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien*, 24-25.

<sup>41</sup> Laut der lateinischen Version von *Ant.* regiert Saul nur noch zwei Jahre nach Samuels Tod, was mit den zwanzig Jahren von *Ant.* X,143 übereinstimmt.

<sup>42</sup> Kreuzer, "Saul," 270-271.

<sup>43</sup> R. P. Gordon, *1 & 2 Samuel* (OTG; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1984), 53.

<sup>44</sup> V. P. Long, *The Reign and Rejection of King Saul. A Case for Literary and Theological Coherence* (SBLDS 118; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989), 74-75: "It seems apparent that the deuteronomistic historian(s) of 1 and 2 Kings would have assumed a general correlation between the righteousness of a king and the length of his reign. (...) Could it be that the

wahrscheinliche Auslegung, dass diese zwei Jahre den Zeitraum zwischen der Salbung Sauls (1 Sam 11,15) und der heimlich vollzogenen Salbung von David (16,13) umfassen. Sobald David gesalbt wird, ist Saul kein richtiger König mehr (vgl. 1 Sam 16,1), und die zusätzlichen Jahre zählen in der königlichen Chronologie nicht mehr. So haben es die altjüdische Chronik-Schrift des 2. Jh. n. Chr. *Seder Olam Rabba* und andere jüdische mittelalterliche Autoren verstanden.<sup>45</sup>

Schliesslich zeigt die Regierungsnotiz von 1 Sam 13,1 trotz ihrer scheinbaren Schwierigkeit eine mögliche Kohärenz: Sie schildert eine vergängliche Herrschaft eines – wenn Bhayro recht hat – unfähigen Königs.

### 3.2. Textgeschichtliche Überlegung

Wie schon erwähnt bezeugt die älteste LXX-Handschrift diese Regierungsnotiz über Saul nicht. Da die Annahme eines zufälligen Wegfalls im Hebräischen oder im Griechischen wenig Plausibilität besitzt, argumentiert Barthélemy genau so wie im Fall von 2 Sam 5,4-5: Die Auslassung sei auf die unverständlichen chronologischen Daten zurückzuführen.<sup>46</sup> Wenn diese Hypothese richtig wäre, müsste dieses Ereignis allerdings in der hebräischen Vorlage passiert sein, und nicht in der griechischen Übersetzung.<sup>47</sup> Wiederum stellt sich die Frage, warum ein Editor die ganze Notiz hätte wegfallen lassen sollen, anstatt die Daten zu korrigieren.

Um Barthélemys Hypothese zu unterstützen, führt Kreuzer ein zusätzliches Argument an, nämlich eine Stelle aus dem Werk *Über die Könige von Judäa* von Eupolemos.<sup>48</sup> Diese Schrift des altjüdischen Historikers datiert aus dem 2. Jh. v. Ch. (etwa 158).<sup>49</sup> Eupolemos spricht von König Saul: εἴτα τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ βουλῇσει ὑπὸ Σαμουὴλ Σαοῦλον βασιλέα αἰρεθῆναι, ἄρξαντα δὲ ἔτη κα' τελευτῆσαι “Danach sei nach dem Willen Gottes Saulos von Samuel zum König erwählt worden; der sei nach einer Regierung von 21 Jahren

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reduction of Saul’s reign to only two years represents an implicit judgement by the historian who inserted the formula? If such an interpretation could be accepted, then even 13:1 might be seen as contributing to an unfavourable depiction of Saul, adumbrating his rejection only a couple of chapters (?) later.”

<sup>45</sup> Vgl. Barthélemy, *Critique textuelle*, vol. 1, 176; Bhayro, “The Madness,” 68: er erwähnt mittelalterliche Autoren wie Abrabanel und Rabbi Isaia ben Elia.

<sup>46</sup> Barthélemy, *Critique textuelle*, vol. 1, 175. Genau so auch McCarter, *I Samuel*, 222.

<sup>47</sup> N. Peters, *Beiträge zur Text- und Literarkritik sowie zur Erklärung der Bücher Samuel* (Freiburg i. B.: Herder, 1899), 107, sagt zurecht: “Dass Gr. (= LXX) den Absatz wegen seines Inhaltes nicht übersetzt hätte, ist bei dem Charakter der griechischen Uebersetzung nicht anzunehmen.”

<sup>48</sup> Kreuzer, “Saul,” 265.

<sup>49</sup> N. Walter, *Fragmente jüdisch-hellenistischer Historiker* (JSRZ 1/2; Gütersloh: Mohn, 1976), 93-108. Siehe auch B. Z. Wacholder, “Biblical Chronology and Hellenistic World Chronicles,” *HTR* 61 (1968): 451-481, bes. 462.

gestorben.”<sup>50</sup> Es ist erstens interessant zu sehen, dass es in der Mitte des 2. Jh. v. Ch. eine Notiz über Saul gibt, und zweitens, dass die Zeitangaben nicht mit dem MT übereinstimmen. Vermutlich gab es sehr früh eine Anpassung der chronologischen Daten. Kreuzer schliesst daraus Folgendes: “Eupolemos bestätigt damit indirekt das Vorhandensein von 1 Sam 13,1a und dass die LXX den Vers wegen divergierender Angaben ausliess.”<sup>51</sup> Ich denke aber, dass mindestens die zweite Schlussfolgerung von Kreuzer nicht zwingend ist. Ganz im Gegenteil, das Zeugnis des Eupolemos widerspricht der Argumentation von Barthélemy: Wenn es so früh eine Anpassung der Zeitangaben gab, warum hätte ein Editor diese Notiz nicht korrigiert, sondern gestrichen? Darüber hinaus ist es fraglich, ob die Zeitangabe bei Eupolemos tatsächlich dazu zwingt, die Anwesenheit der Notiz in 1 Sam anzunehmen.<sup>52</sup> Ich möchte daher eine hierzu gegensätzliche Argumentation verfolgen.<sup>53</sup>

Um die Anwesenheit bzw. Abwesenheit der Regierungsnotiz in 1 Sam 13,1 zu verstehen, müssen die zwei parallelen Regierungsnotizen (2 Sam 2,10; 5,4-5) in die Analyse einbezogen werden. Zwei von den drei Notizen sind in der ältesten LXX bzw. in ihrer hebräischen Vorlage abwesend (1 Sam 13,1 und 2 Sam 5,4-5). Ein erster Versuch, diese textlichen Fakten zu interpretieren, ist von einer grundsätzlichen textkritischen Annahme geleitet: Harmonische oder identische Formen sind wahrscheinlich sekundär, während unterschiedliche Lesarten oder Textformen vermutlich ursprünglich sind. Es ist daher wahrscheinlicher, dass die Textgestalt mit drei identischen Notizen nachträglich ist. Aber die textkritische Beweisführung ist nicht die einzige, sondern es gibt auch literarische Gründe für die Einfügung der Antrittsformel.

Der erste Grund besteht darin, die drei Könige in eine Reihenfolge zu bringen. Wie Fischer schon gezeigt hat, evozieren die drei Notizen die Vorstellung einer Sukzession von Saul über Ischboschet zu David, die den Übergang der Herrschaft vom saulidischen zum davidischen Königshaus unterstreicht. Dieser Übergang war vermutlich für den proto-masoretischen Editor wichtig, weil er damit in gewisser Weise Davids Königswürde als eine Erfüllung der Monarchie schildert.

Ein zweites Motiv ist in der Formulierung der Notiz bzw. der Zeitangaben selbst zu finden. Und zwar zeigt sich hier erneut die Tendenz, König David gegenüber den anderen Monarchen herauszustreichen. Wenn man das

<sup>50</sup> Eusebius, *Praep. ev.* IX 30,1: Übersetzung nach Walter, *Fragmente*, 99.

<sup>51</sup> Kreuzer, “Saul,” 265.

<sup>52</sup> Dies zeigt aber sicherlich die historisierende Tendenz im 2. Jh. v. Ch., die chronologischen Daten über die Könige festzulegen.

<sup>53</sup> Einige Autoren denken an die Ursprünglichkeit der LXX: Thenius, *Bücher Samuels*, 49; Peters, *Beiträge*, 107; H. P. Smith, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Books of Samuel* (ICC; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1899), 92; S. R. Driver, *Notes on the Hebrew Text and the Topography of the Books of Samuel* (2<sup>nd</sup> rev. and enl. ed.; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913), 97.

Fehlen von Sauls Antrittsalter als eine Lücke betrachtet, ist eine textliche Verwirrung nicht die einzige notwendige Erklärung. Der Redaktor könnte das Alter des Königs auch absichtlich weggelassen haben, um Saul als eine Ausnahme in der Reihenfolge der Könige hinzustellen.<sup>54</sup> Aber die Hypothese von Bhayro, wenn sie richtig ist, macht noch viel mehr Sinn. Der proto-masoretische Editor wollte eben die Unfähigkeit Sauls betonen. Das Wortspiel zeigt unauffällig, dass Saul kein geeigneter König war. In diesem Zusammenhang erhält auch die zweijährige Regierungszeit Sauls eine bestimmte Bedeutung. Im Vergleich mit dem Marionettenkönig Ischboschet (auch zwei Jahre) und vor allem mit David (vierzig Jahre), erscheinen die zwei Herrscherjahre Sauls unbedeutend und geringfügig. Ich würde daher dazu tendieren, die zwei Jahre wie das *Seder Olam Rabba* zu verstehen: Der Editor wollte zeigen, dass die Herrschaft Davids nach seiner geheimen Salbung schon angefangen hatte, und dass Saul in der Tat nicht mehr König war. Eben das sagt YHWH selbst in 1 Sam 16,1. Die Notiz ist in gewisser Weise die Vorwegnahme dieses göttlichen Erlasses.

#### 4. Ergebnisse und Schlussfolgerung

Diese Untersuchung der königlichen Regierungsnotizen in den verschiedenen Textgestalten der Samuelbücher führt zur Aufstellung einer textgeschichtlichen Hypothese. Der proto-masoretische Text stellt eine literarisch revidierte Textgestalt dar, die eine ältere Fassung – die indirekt durch die LXX, teilweise durch die *Vetus Latina* und die Qumran Handschrift 4Sam<sup>a</sup> bezeugt ist – erweitert und strukturiert hat. Während in der ältesten Textfassung nur drei königliche Notizen waren (Ischboschet, 2 Sam 2,10a; David, 2 Sam 2,11; David, 1 Kön 2,11), hat die „neue Edition“ zwei zusätzliche Regierungsformeln in die Erzählung eingefügt, die erste über Sauls Regierung (1 Sam 13,1) und die zweite über David (2 Sam 5,4-5). Die Struktur dieser Zusätze spiegelt wörtlich die Antrittsnotiz über Ischboschet wider. Die literarische Funktion dieser Einfügungen lässt die ideologische Absicht des proto-masoretischen Editors erkennen. Es kam ihm besonders darauf an, eine Sukzession der drei Könige zu schildern, die den Übergang vom saulidischen zum davidischen Haus erkennbar macht. Zudem ist in den Notizen eine pro-davidische Tendenz spürbar. In 1 Sam 13,1 wird sowohl die Untauglichkeit Sauls als auch die Vergänglichkeit seiner Regierungszeit unterstrichen, was so nur durch den vergleichenden Bezug auf Davids Königswürde verständlich wird (1 Sam 16,1.13). Mit 2 Sam 5,4-5 wird literarisch gleichsam ein feierliches Portal errichtet, bei dessen Durchschreiten sich ein Blick auf die Herrschaft Davids eröffnet: Die Verse fassen alle chronologischen Daten der zwei unterschiedlichen Regierungsphasen

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<sup>54</sup> Vgl. Long, *Reign and Rejection*, 74.

zusammen und unterstreichen die Vereinigung des Nordens und des Südens, mit Nachdruck auf Juda, unter Davids Herrschaft.

Die so formulierte Hypothese einer pro-davidischen Überarbeitung im proto-masoretischen Text verlangt selbstverständlich eine zusätzliche Abstützung durch die Einbettung in einen grösseren Horizont. Diese Studie muss daher in den Kontext anderer Indizien für eine pro-davidische Tendenz des proto-masoretischen Textes in der Textgeschichte der Samuelbücher gestellt werden. Mehrere Untersuchungen haben diesen Aspekt bereits unterstrichen.<sup>55</sup> Anders gesagt: Diese Studie ist ein weiteres Puzzle-Stück, das zur Rekonstruktion eines Vorganges beiträgt, den man bereits in der altjüdischen Literatur beobachten kann und der sich bis in die älteste Textüberlieferung der spät-vorchristlichen Zeit hinein fortsetzt, nämlich die literarische und theologische Idealisierung Davids.<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> J. Lust, "David dans la Septante," in *Figures de David à travers la Bible* (ed. L. Derousseaux et J. Vermeylen; Lectio Divina 177; Paris: Cerf, 1999), 243-263; J. Hutzli, "Mögliche Retuschen am Davidbild in der masoretischen Fassung der Samuelbücher," in *David und Saul im Widerstreit – Diachronie und Synchronie im Wettstreit* (ed. W. Dietrich; OBO 206; Fribourg: Academic Press; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004), 102-115; A. Schenker, "Die Verheissung Natans in 2 Sam 7 in der Septuaginta. Wie erklären sich die Differenzen zwischen Massoretischem Text und LXX, und was bedeuten sie für die messianische Würde des davidischen Hauses in der LXX?" in *The Septuagint and Messianism* (ed. M. A. Knibb; BETL 195; Leuven: University Press, 2006), 177-192; P. Hugo, "Abner der Königsmacher versus David den gesalbten König (2Sam 3,21.39). Die Charakterisierung Abners und Davids als Merkmale der literarischen Abweichung zwischen dem masoretischen Text und der Septuaginta," in *Die Septuaginta: Texte, Theologien und Einflüsse* (ed. M. Karrer und W. Kraus; WUNT 252; Tübingen: Mohr, 2010), 489-505; P. Hugo, "Die Morde an Abner und Amasa. Literarische Dimensionen textlicher Abweichungen zwischen dem Massoretischen Text und der Septuaginta in der David-Geschichte?" in *Seitenblicke. Literarische und historische Studien zu Nebenfiguren im zweiten Samuelbuch* (ed. W. Dietrich; OBO 249; Fribourg: Academic Press; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011), 24-52; P. Hugo, "The King's Return (2 Sam 19,10-16). Contrasting Characterizations of David, Israel and Juda in the Old Editions," in *After Qumran: Old and New Editions of Biblical Texts. The Historical Books* (ed. H. Ausloos, B. Lemmelijn, and J. Trebolle Barrera; BETL 246; Leuven: Peeters, 2012), 95-118.

<sup>56</sup> Siehe z.B. S. Bar-Efrat, "From History to Story: The Development of the Figure of David in Biblical and Post-Biblical Literature," in *For and Against David: Story and History in the Books of Samuel* (ed. A. G. Auld and E. Eynikel; BETL 232; Leuven: Brill, 2010), 47-56; P. C. Beentjes, "Portrayals of David in Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature," in *Biblical Figures in Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature* (ed. H. Lichtenberger and U. Mittmann-Richert; Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature Year-book 2008; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2009), 165-179.

## REVISITING 2 KINGS 13:14-21 (MT AND LXX): The Transposition of a Pericope and Multiple Literary Editions in 2 Kings

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Textual multiplicity in the Book of Kings is the subject of an ongoing scholarly debate in which no consensus has yet emerged. Clearly, the Masoretic Text and the Old Greek reflect two different editions in several sections of 1-2 Kings/3-4 Kingdoms, but attempts to describe an overall scenario explaining the origins of textual diversity in the entire books of Kings have not yet convinced all the text critics. Rather, many studies are devoted to a detailed comparison between the textual witnesses in limited sections of the books of Kings. In this regard, the Solomon narratives (1 Kgs 2-11) have attracted much interest, albeit with contradictory results.<sup>1</sup> The Elijah cycle is but another example of an important part of 1 Kings that has recently been studied in detail.<sup>2</sup> In comparison, textual differences in 2 Kings have been paid less attention. Yet there exist significant divergences between the MT and the LXX there, some of them neglected by exegetes and the study of which could further research in significant ways. Among the most striking of these differences is a series of alterations scattered in 2 Kings, resulting in opposite evaluations in the comparison of the behavior of kings with that of their predecessors,<sup>3</sup> or a different organization, in the Old

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<sup>1</sup> J. Trebolle Barrera, *Salomón y Jeroboán. Historia de la recensión de 1 Reyes 2-12; 14* (Bibliotheca Salmanticensis Dissertationes 3; Salamanca: Universidad Pontificia, 1980); A. Schenker, *Septante et texte massorétique dans l'histoire la plus ancienne du texte de 1 R 2-14* (CahRB 48; Paris: Gabalda, 2000); P. S. F. van Keulen, *Two Versions of the Solomon Narrative: An Inquiry into the Relationship between MT 1 Kgs. 2-11 and LXX 3 Reg. 2-11* (VTSup 104; Leiden: Brill, 2005); A. S. Turkanik, *Of Kings and Reigns: A Study of Translation Technique in the Gamma/Gamma Section of 3 Reigns (1 Kings)* (FAT-2 30; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), though the latter study has methodological flaws: see T. M. Law, "How Not to Use 3 Reigns: A Plea to Scholars of the Books of Kings," *VT* 61 (2011): 280-297.

<sup>2</sup> A. Schenker, *Älteste Textgeschichte der Königsbücher. Die hebräische Vorlage der ursprünglichen Septuaginta als älteste Textform der Königsbücher* (OBO 199; Fribourg: Academic Press; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004), 14-33; P. Hugo, *Les deux visages d'Élie. Texte massorétique et Septante dans l'histoire la plus ancienne du texte de 1 Rois 17-18* (OBO 217; Fribourg: Academic Press; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006); idem, "Text and Literary History: The Case of 1 Kgs 19 (MT and LXX)," in *Soundings in Kings: Perspective and Methods in Contemporary Scholarship* (ed. K.-P. Adam and M. Leuchter; Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress Press, 2010), 15-34, 156-165.



Latin, of an entire section (MT 2 Kgs 17:7-23) in the epilogue concerning the Northern Kingdom.<sup>4</sup>

The present study will focus on what may well be the most spectacular of these phenomena in 2 Kings: the transposition of an entire pericope from ch. 13 to ch. 10, or maybe the other way round—this is precisely the question. Indeed, the last narrative involving Elisha (MT 2 Kgs 13:14-21) concerns King Jehoash of Israel in all witnesses except the Old Latin, where it is located in ch. 10 and concerns King *Jehu*. Is it possible to understand the textual evolution here? What is particularly fascinating in this text-critical problem is the fact that it involves not only “local” or “small” variants (due to modifications, additions or suppressions of words or expressions in some witnesses), but also a transposition, i.e. a literary difference, which reflects a compositional work on the text. Moreover, as we will see, both kinds of changes prove to be related here—yet another illustration of the entanglement of textual and compositional criticism.<sup>5</sup>

From a methodological point of view, this study will proceed in several steps.<sup>6</sup> First of all, it is necessary to identify the textual tradition which is likely to reflect the Old Greek in the section under scrutiny. Secondly, by means of a synoptic reading of the main textual traditions, I will point out the most significant differences between them. In doing so, it will be metho-

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<sup>3</sup> This concerns Ahaziah of Israel, Yoram of Israel, Hosea and Manasseh. See Schenker, *Älteste Textgeschichte der Königsbücher*, 116-117, 119-120; idem, “The Septuagint in the Text History of 1-2 Kings,” in *The Book of Kings: Sources, Composition, Historiography and Reception* (ed. B. Halpern and A. Lemaire; VTSup 129; Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2010), 3-17; J. Trebolle Barrera, “Histoire du texte des livres historiques et histoire de la composition et de la rédaction deutéronomiste avec une publication préliminaire de 4Q481A, ‘Apocryphe d’Élisée,’” in *Congress Volume Paris 1992* (ed. J. Emerton; VTSup 61; Leiden/New York/Köln: Brill, 1995), 337-38.

<sup>4</sup> See lately P. Torijano Morales, “Textual Criticism and the Text-Critical Edition of IV Regnorum: The Case of 17,2-6,” in *After Qumran. Old and Modern Editions of the Biblical Texts – The Historical Books* (ed. H. Ausloos, B. Lemmelijn, and J. Trebolle Barrera; BETL 246; Leuven/Paris/Walpole: Peeters, 2012), 195-211; J. Trebolle Barrera, “Textual Pluralism and Composition of the Books of Kings: 2 Kings 17.2-23: MT, LXX<sup>B</sup>, LXX<sup>L</sup>, OL,” in *After Qumran* (ed. Ausloos, Lemmelijn, and Trebolle Barrera), 213-226; A. Piquer Otero, “What Text to Edit? The Oxford Hebrew Bible Edition of 2 Kings 17.1-23,” in *After Qumran* (ed. Ausloos, Lemmelijn, and Trebolle Barrera), 227-243.

<sup>5</sup> This text-critical problem has been addressed by J. Trebolle Barrera in excellent pioneering works, which have probably not yet received all the attention they deserve; see especially J. Trebolle Barrera, *Jehu y Joas: Textos y composición literaria en 2 Re 9-11* (Valencia: Institución San Jerónimo para la investigación bíblica, 1984); idem, *Centena in libros Samuelis et Regum: Variantes textuales y composición literaria en los libros de Samuel y Reyes* (TECC 47; Madrid: Instituto de Filología CSIC, 1989), 177-183; idem, “Histoire du texte des livres historiques,” 339-341). It has also been studied by A. Schenker, *Älteste Textgeschichte der Königsbücher*, 136-138. The present study summarizes an analysis which I have developed in my book *Le testament d’Élisée: Texte massorétique et Septante en 2 R 13,10-14,16* (CahRB 76; Pendé: Gabalda, 2010), and adds new arguments.

<sup>6</sup> See Hugo, *Les deux visages d’Élie*, 120-125.

dologically important to distinguish between deliberate changes and differences which are due to textual corruptions or attributable to a translator, since the second category is immaterial to the reconstitution of the earliest literary history of the text. Then I will try to explain the textual evolution by identifying the origin of each significant difference between the textual traditions. Furthermore, I will explore different possible scenarios which could explain the overall situation. In particular, in order to gather all the available information concerning the deliberate variants, I will try to assess their impact on the narrative profile of the passage in its literary context (which differs according to the individual textual witness).

### 1. Textual witnesses

In 2 Kings, the Old Greek is often reflected by the Antiochian Text (LXX<sup>L</sup>),<sup>7</sup> but also by the Old Latin (OL), though only fragments of the latter are preserved. Generally speaking, it seems that the Greek *Vorlage* of the OL has often escaped later revisions influenced by the MT which have affected the Greek traditions in 1-2 Kings (LXX<sup>B</sup>, LXX<sup>L</sup>...).<sup>8</sup> In particular, the *Palimpsestus Vindobonensis*<sup>9</sup> provides parts of 2 Kgs 10, where the passage concerning Elisha appears between vv. 30 and 31; the king who is visiting Elisha is *Jehu* not Jehoash. Also, a few marginal glosses prove to be helpful.<sup>10</sup> In 2 Kgs 13, there are good reasons to think that the OL, a literalistic rendition of its Greek model and the most distant witness from the MT in this passage (Paul de Lagarde's principle), globally reflects the Old Greek. The probability is even higher where the Antiochian text and the Old Latin agree.

As a result, the main textual witnesses we will compare here are the MT, the LXX<sup>L</sup> and the OL.

<sup>7</sup> N. Fernández Marcos and J. R. Busto Saiz, eds., *El texto antioqueno de la Biblia Griega, II, 1-2 Reyes* (TECC 53; Madrid: Instituto de Filología CSIC, 1992).

<sup>8</sup> On these matters see Hugo, *Les deux visages d'Elie*, 38-39; idem, "Le Grec ancien des livres des Règles: Une histoire et un bilan de la recherche," in *Sôfer Mahîr: Essays in Honour of Adrian Schenker Offered by Editors of Biblia Hebraica Quinta* (ed. Y. A. P. Goldman, A. van der Kooij, and R. D. Weis; VTSup 110; Leiden/Boston: Brill), 113-141. For a slightly more mitigated view of the textual relevance of OL, see N. Fernández Marcos, *Scribes and Translators: Septuagint and Old Latin in the Books of Kings* (VTSup 54; Leiden/New York/Köln: Brill, 1994).

<sup>9</sup> B. Fischer, "Palimpsestus Vindobonensis: A Revised Edition of L 115 for Samuel-Kings," *BIOSCS* 16 (1983): 13-87.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. A. Moreno Hernández, *Las Glosas Marginales de Vetus Latina en las Biblias Vulgatas Españolas. 1-2 Reyes* (TECC 49; Madrid: Instituto de Filología CSIC, 1992).

## 2. Synoptic reading and identification of differences

The table at the end of this article consists in a synoptic presentation of the MT, the LXX<sup>L</sup> and the OL (for the latter, the orthography of the manuscript has been used). In the discussion I will use the verse numbers of the MT. The presentation in columns allows the reader to immediately spot two *plusses* (in vv. 17-18). In addition, leaving aside a few insignificant differences, we can note other important textual divergences which are highlighted by frames in the table. All in all, this enables us to draw a list of seven significant differences:

- i. The formula used by the king towards Elisha in v. 14 is “My father, my father! The chariots of Israel and its horsemen” in the MT and “Father, Father! Chariot of Israel and its horsemen!” in LXX<sup>L</sup>, but in the OL one reads “Father, Father! Chariot-driver (or: ruler) of Israel and its horseman (*rector israel et eques eius*)!” (one also finds *agitator* instead of *rector* in marginal glosses).<sup>11</sup> As I have tried to show in detail elsewhere,<sup>12</sup> this difference might simply be due to different vocalizations of the nearly identical formula רכב ישראל ופרשו, leading to the translation ἡνιόχος (or ἐπιβάτης) Ἰσραηλ καὶ ἱππεὺς αὐτοῦ then to *agitator* (or *rector*) *israel et eques eius*. This, in fact, is probably a better understanding of the original meaning of the expression, as shown by the parallel passage of 2 Kgs 2:12.<sup>13</sup> Instead of a metaphor assimilating Elijah with chariots and horses or horsemen, which does not easily fit an individual, we understand that his disciple, when seeing him ascending on a chariot of fire, calls him a “chariot-driver,” which functions here as an honorific title for a person. Moreover, in 2 Kgs 13, there might be some irony when Elisha, immediately after having been called a “chariot-driver” by the king, makes the latter an *archer* (another military function) by ordering him to shoot an arrow (or even several in the OL). Note that in the Talmud, Elisha is said to have appeared to Rabbi Shimi bar Ashi with the appearance of a horseman (*bShabbat* 109b).
- ii. The location of the promised victories (v. 17) is Aphek in MT and LXX<sup>L</sup>, but *aseroth quae est contra faciem samariae* according to the OL. There is no explanation to such a difference in the transmission or the translation processes, except a deliberate change.

<sup>11</sup> Hernández, *Glosas Marginales*, 136.

<sup>12</sup> M. Richelle, “Elie et Elisée, auriges en Israël. Une métaphore militaire oubliée en 2 R 2.12 et 13.14,” *RB* 117 (2010): 321-336.

<sup>13</sup> In quotations we find a short formula: “pater, pater, agitator Israel” (G. F. Diercks, *Luciferi Calaritani opera quae supersunt* [CCSL 8; Turnhout: Brepols, 1978], 36); “pater, pater, agitator Istrahel et eques ipsius” (C. Schenkl, *Sancti Ambrosii opera – Pars altera* [CSEL 32/2; Vindobonae: Tempsky, 1897], 508); “pater mi, pater mi, currus Israel et auriga eius” and “pater, pater, agitator Israel” (Hernández, *Glosas Marginales*, 123).

- iii. In v. 17 the MT has “the Lord’s arrow of victory, the arrow of victory in Aram” (or: “over Aram”) in MT, but instead of the latter precision we read “in Israel” in the LXX<sup>L</sup> and the OL. This difference בארם/בישראל does not seem to be due to textual corruption.<sup>14</sup>
- iv. There is a *plus* in the OL in v. 17: *et aperuit fenestram secundam et dixit sagittare et sagittavit sagittam salutis dm̄ et sagittam salutis israel et dixit helisseus percuties syriā totam* (“and he opened a second window and said: ‘Shoot!’ and he shot the Lord’s arrow of victory and an arrow of victory of Israel, and Elisha said: ‘You will strike Syria in its entirety.’”). According to Fernández Marcos, this sentence disappeared by *parablesis* because of the repetition of ארם or Συρίαν.<sup>15</sup>
- v. Conversely, there is a *plus* common to MT and LXX<sup>L</sup> in v. 18, according to which Elisha orders Jehoash to take five arrows. This is easily explained by a *homoiarcton* due to the repetition of the words “and he said” (וַיֹּאמֶר).
- vi. The king is Jehoash in the MT and the LXX<sup>L</sup>, but Jehu in the OL (vv. 16.18). Which, of course, is related to the main difference:
- vii. The passage occurs in ch. 13 in MT and LXX<sup>L</sup> but in ch. 10 in the OL.<sup>16</sup>

In sum, differences (i), (iv) and (v) might be due to mechanical errors which are irrelevant to the question of the earliest textual history of the pericope. Nevertheless, we will see later that (i) could well reflect a better understanding of the significance of the formula in its original context. By contrast, (ii), (iii), (vi) and (vii) most probably represent deliberate changes.

In what follows, I will begin with discussing the “small” changes (ii), (iii) and (vi), but it will shortly appear that all of them are related to the main difference (vii). Then I will return to (vii), which demands a special study.

<sup>14</sup> A. Klostermann believed that the primitive text was באפרים (“in Ephraim”) and that it had been changed into בארם (*Die Bücher Samuelis und der Könige* [Kurzgefasster Kommentar zu den heiligen Schriften sowie zu den Apocryphen 3; Nördlingen: Beck, 1887], 438). If so, Ephraim, which is often used as a synonym for Israel, could explain the LXX<sup>L</sup>. This seems unlikely however since one would have to assume that two letters were overlooked in the same word in the transmission process, and that Ephraim was changed into Israel in the Hebrew text (a change for which there does not seem to be any particular reason), or that the translator used the word Israel rather than Ephraim in Greek (which is unlikely given his literalistic translation and the fact that Ephraim appears in Greek in 2 Kgs 5:22 and 14:13).

<sup>15</sup> Fernández Marcos, *Scribes and Translators*, 70. For a more detailed discussion, see Richelle, *Testament*, 62-63.

<sup>16</sup> In *Testament*, 18, I suggest the existence of yet another difference, regarding Elisha’s reaction in v. 19; but the verb used in LXX<sup>L</sup> (ἐλπήθη) is a possible translation of the MT (וַיִּקְצֹר): see E. Hatch and H. A. Redpath, *A Concordance to the Septuagint and the Other Greek Versions to the Old Testament*, vol. 2 (repr., Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1975), 889.

### 3. “Small” changes

#### 3.1. The location of the battles

In the OL, the location of the victories announced by Elisha in v. 17 is not Aphek but Aserot. Trebolle Barrera has suggested that the latter is a toponym which corresponds to ḤṢRT (*Ḥaṣerot*) in the Samaria ostraca, which date from the first half of the 8<sup>th</sup> century, that is, precisely the period the narrative refers to.<sup>17</sup> This hypothesis sounds plausible. From a phonological viewpoint, the passage from Hebrew ḤṢRT to Latin *aseroth*, via the Greek *Vorlage* of the OL, would be similar to the passage from תְּצַרֹת (Num 11:35) to *aseroth* in the Latin translation of Eusebius’ *Onomasticon*.<sup>18</sup> From an archeological viewpoint, several locations have been suggested for ḤṢRT: ‘Aṣiret el-Ḥaṭab,<sup>19</sup> ‘Aṣiret el-Qibliyeh,<sup>20</sup> and El-Kebarrah,<sup>21</sup> all three of them in the vicinity of Shechem, that is, near Samaria.<sup>22</sup> Iron Age II pottery has been found during surveys on the three sites.<sup>23</sup>

From a text-critical viewpoint, *Aserot* is the *lectio difficilior*: it is difficult to understand why someone would have changed Aphek into this insignificant toponym, whereas one easily understands the change into Aphek, which is the place of famous battles (1 Sam 4:1; 29:1), notably against the Aramaeans (1 Kgs 20:26).<sup>24</sup> The insignificance of Aserot as a place name is pointed out by the presence of the explanation *quae est contra faciem samariae*. On the one hand, it sounds like a gloss, which would have been added by a scribe desiring to help the reader to locate the unfamiliar toponym Aserot. On the other hand, one finds a similar expression in an Aramaic inscription from Arslan Tash dated to the 8<sup>th</sup> century B.C.: ḤLḤ.ZY.QDM. LLBN.<sup>25</sup> Here ḤLḤ and LLBN are towns or provinces. The expression

<sup>17</sup> Trebolle Barrera, “Histoire du texte des livres historiques,” 341.

<sup>18</sup> R. S. Notley and Z. Safrai, *Eusebius, Onomasticon: The Place Names of Divine Scripture, Including the Latin Edition of Jerome* (Jewish and Christian Perspectives Series 9; Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2005), 10.

<sup>19</sup> Y. Aharoni, *The Land of the Bible* (New York: Burns & Oates, 1967), 325.

<sup>20</sup> R. Dussaud, “Samarie au temps d’Achab,” *Syria* 7 (1926): 12.

<sup>21</sup> A. Zertal, *The Manasseh Hill Country Survey*, vol. 1: *The Shechem Syncline* (Culture and History of the Ancient Near East 21/1; Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2004), 74, 237-238.

<sup>22</sup> The transformation of Ḥet into ‘Ayn at the head of Arabic names is attested to in other toponyms: see Y. Elitzur, *Ancient Place Names in the Holy Land: Preservation and History* (Jerusalem/Winona Lake: Magnes Press/Eisenbrauns, 2004), 297.

<sup>23</sup> Zertal, *The Manasseh Hill Country Survey*, vol. 1, 527-528, site no. 271.

<sup>24</sup> One should add that there might be an original alliteration in the *Vorlage* of the LXX: the Lord’s arrow (רָח) of victory, arrow (רָח) of victory in Israel, and you will strike Aram at תְּצַרֹת.

<sup>25</sup> W. Röllig, “Die Inschriften des Ninurta-Bēlu-Ušur, Statthalters von Kār-Salmānu-Ašarēd. Teil I,” in *Of God(s), Trees, Kings, and Scholars: Neo-Assyrian and Related Studies in*

ZY.QDM with toponym parallels *quae est contra faciem* with toponym. Thus, such a formula is not implausible in an early redaction of 2 Kings or of one of its sources. However, this might just show that it is a correct way of glossing Aserot in Antiquity. In any case, the presence of a gloss here would not change the analysis proposed here, because obviously, Aserot could not have been part of the gloss (otherwise there would be no toponym at all). On the contrary, this gloss confirms the fact that this town was not well known even in Antiquity.

Furthermore, the change Ḥaṣerot into Aphek might have been correlated with a transposition of the passage to ch. 13. Indeed, the name Aphek was probably already present in this chapter. It appears in 2 Kgs 13:22 LXX<sup>L</sup>, a verse occurring only in the Antiochian text (but probably presupposing a Hebrew *Vorlage*): Καὶ ἔλαβεν Ἀζαήλ τὸν ἀλλόφυλον ἐκ χειρὸς αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάσσης τῆς καθ' ἑσπέραν ἕως Ἀφέκ. In the *Septuaginta Deutsch*, this verse is translated: “Und Azael nahm dem Andersstämmigen (das Gebiet) vom Meer im Westen bis Aphek aus seiner Hand.”<sup>26</sup> This verse, “quite enigmatic” as André Lemaire noted in his study of Hazael’s reign,<sup>27</sup> requires some elucidation.

According to some scholars, the “Sea to the West” is the Mediterranean Sea, and ἀλλόφυλον is, as usual, a designation of the Philistines. Their view is that Hazael took a territory extending from the Dead Sea to Aphek in the Sharon.<sup>28</sup> However, there are some difficulties with this analysis. First, this makes little sense in the historical and literary context of 2 Kgs 13:22 LXX<sup>L</sup>. Admittedly, Hazael took Gath (2 Kgs 12:18), but a territory extending from the Mediterranean Sea to Aphek/Antipatris would be a thin strip of land since the latter town is located at 14 km from the sea. (And the geographical description does not indicate the north-south extension of the territory.) Furthermore, this would have little relevance in the literary context since the former verse (2 Kgs 13:21 LXX<sup>L</sup>//13:22 MT) mentions the oppression of Israel by Hazael, and the next verses mention the re-conquest of *Israelite* towns (13:23-24 LXX<sup>L</sup>//13:24-25 MT). Indeed, Hazael had taken from the Israelites territories in Transjordan (2 Kgs 10:32-33; cf. also Amos 1:3) and most probably in the north of Israel, as the archeological and epigraphical data seem to indicate: there seems to be an occupational gap in Megiddo at

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*Honour of Simo Parpola* (ed. M. Luukko, S. Svärd, and R. Mattila; StudOr 106; Helsinki: Finnish Oriental Society, 2009), 265-278.

<sup>26</sup> W. Kraus and M. Karrer, *Septuaginta Deutsch: Das griechische Alte Testament in deutscher Übersetzung* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2009), 456.

<sup>27</sup> A. Lemaire, “Hazaël de Damas, roi d’Aram,” in *Marchands, diplomates et empereurs: Etudes sur la civilisation mésopotamienne offerts à Paul Garelli* (ed. D. Charpin and F. Joannès; Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les civilisations, 1991), 103 n. 85.

<sup>28</sup> E.g. E. Lipinski, *The Aramaeans: Their Ancient History, Culture, Religion* (OLA 100; Leuven: Peeters, 2000), 386.

the end of the 9<sup>th</sup> century;<sup>29</sup> at the same period, the occupied surface at Tel Rehov was halved;<sup>30</sup> and a victory stela dated ca. 825 B.C.E., most probably written to the glory of Hazael, has been discovered at Tel Dan.<sup>31</sup> In addition, 2 Kgs 13:22 LXX<sup>L</sup> states that Hazael took the territory from his hand (ἐκ χειρὸς αὐτοῦ), which can only refer to Jehoahaz, mentioned in the preceding verse.

Second, the sea mentioned in 2 Kgs 13:22 LXX<sup>L</sup> is certainly not the Mediterranean Sea. Firstly, this would be an unparalleled designation. There are thirteen other occurrences of the word ἑσπέρα in 1-4 Kingdoms:<sup>32</sup> eleven times it translates עֶרֶב, and twice עֶרְבָּה (1 Sam 23:24; 2 Kgs 14:25). Schenker himself, who believes that 2 Kgs 13:22 LXX<sup>L</sup> mentions the Mediterranean Sea, suggests a retroversion in this verse with עֶרְבָּה.<sup>33</sup> In 2 Kgs 14:25, ἕως τῆς θαλάσσης τῆς καθ' ἑσπέραν translates עַד־יָם הָעֶרְבָּה. And יָם הָעֶרְבָּה clearly designates the Dead Sea, as indicated by the apposition of יָם הַמֶּלַח (“sea of salt”) in Deut 3:17; Josh 3:16; 12:3. This is corroborated by the historical context of 2 Kgs 14:25 (“from Lebo-Hamath to the Mediterranean Sea” would be meaningless there; historians understand here “Dead Sea”).<sup>34</sup> Finally, this is simply the sea geographically connected to the Arabah.<sup>35</sup> It would be very difficult to assume that יָם הָעֶרְבָּה in 2 Kgs 13 is not the same sea as in the next chapter.

As a result, 2 Kgs 13:22 LXX<sup>L</sup> claims that Hazael had taken a territory extending from the Dead Sea to Aphek. But this makes no sense if the latter is Aphek in the Sharon plain: it would be a territory encompassing lands in Judah and/or Benjamin, to the south of the Samaria hill country, a territory Hazael had not conquered. Moreover, it cannot designate a Philistine territory despite the expression τὸν ἀλλόφυλον. Furthermore, this territory had not previously been taken by Hazael from Jehoahaz, contrary to what is suggested by ἐκ χειρὸς αὐτοῦ. In fact, τὸν ἀλλόφυλον and ἐκ χειρὸς αὐτοῦ

<sup>29</sup> I. Finkelstein, A. Fantalkin, and E. Piasezky, “Three Snapshots of the Iron IIA: The Northern Valleys, the Southern Steppe, and Jerusalem,” in *Israel in Transition: From Late Bronze II to Iron IIA (1250-850 B.C.E.)*, vol. 1: *The Archaeology* (ed. L. L. Grabbe; Library of Hebrew Bible/OTS 491; New York/London: T&T Clark, 2008), 32-44.

<sup>30</sup> A. Mazar, “Rehov, Tel,” in *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, vol. 5: *Supplementary Volume* (ed. E. Stern et al.; Jerusalem/Washington: Israel Exploration Society/Biblical Archaeology Society, 2008), 2013-2018.

<sup>31</sup> A. Lemaire, “The Tel Dan Stela as a Piece of Royal Historiography,” *JSOT* 81 (1998): 3-14.

<sup>32</sup> N. Fernández Marcos, V. Spottorno Díaz-Caro, and J. M. Cañas Reillo, *Índice griego-hebreo del texto antioqueno en los libros históricos*, vol. 1: *Índice general* (TECC 75; Madrid: Instituto de Filología CSIC, 2005), 190.

<sup>33</sup> Schenker, *Älteste Textgeschichte der Königsbücher*, 114.

<sup>34</sup> E. g. J. M. Miller and J. H. Hayes, *A History of Ancient Israel and Judah* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.; London: SCM Press, 2006), 352.

<sup>35</sup> For a more detailed analysis, see M. Richelle, “Les conquêtes de Hazaël selon la recension lucianique en 4 Règles 13.22,” *BN* 146 (2010): 19-25.

seem to be mutually incompatible. Moreover, the singular ἀλλόφυλον is exceptional, as Schenker has noted.<sup>36</sup>

A similar problem occurs in 2 Kgs 8:28. While the MT mentions here  $\text{מֶלֶךְ־אֲרָם}$   $\text{לְחָזַק}$  and  $\text{בְּעֶזְרִי}$  offer Ἀζαήλ βασιλέως Συρίας, LXX<sup>B</sup> and o have Ἀζαήλ βασιλέως ἀλλοφύλων. The latter probably reflects the OG, while the former (with Συρίας) seems to result from a revision influenced by MT (Paul de Lagarde's principle). There is absolutely no doubt that the correct expression is "Hazael king of Aram," but for some reason, OG reads "Hazael king of the ἀλλοφύλων." (Perhaps ἀλλοφύλων is understood in its etymological sense here). So it is conceivable that the same phenomenon occurred in 2 Kgs 13:22 LXX<sup>L</sup>, and that the primitive text mentioned "Aram" not the Philistines. It is difficult to think of another way to make sense of this verse.

If this interpretation is correct, this verse would be an accurate description of the territories conquered by Hazael from Israel, recalled to memory just before the narrator goes on to speak of towns which Jehoash had reconquered from the Aramaean king. This territory would extend from the Dead Sea to Aphek in the Golan or to Aphek in the territory of Asher.<sup>37</sup> In the first case, the description corresponds to what has been described in 2 Kgs 10:32-33 as Hazael's conquests during Jehu's reign.<sup>38</sup> In the second case, the territory would encompass lands to the north of Israel, adding new losses during the reign of Joahaz to what had already been lost under Jehu.

Whatever the particulars of this verse, the point is that the name Aphek was already present in 2 Kgs 13 as a place on the boundary of the territories to be reconquered by the Israelites. Significantly, Aphek was the name of a place where Israel had fought against the Aramaeans (1 Kgs 20:26). Therefore one understands why a scribe moving the pericope to this chapter would have changed Aserot into Aphek: in ch. 13 it seems perfectly logical that Elisha announces victories on the northern boundary of the disputed territories. Thus, there seems to be a correlation between the transposition of the pericope and this small but significant change in its context.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>36</sup> Schenker, *Älteste Textgeschichte der Königsbücher*, 113.

<sup>37</sup> See R. Frankel, "Aphek," in *ABD*, 1:275-277. I am aware that the existence of Aphek in the Golan has recently been challenged by W. Zwickel ("Ein Afek im Golan?" in *Geschichte Israels und deuteronomistisches Geschichtedenken: Festschrift zum 70. Geburtstag von Winfried Thiel* [ed. P. Mommer and A. Scherer; AOAT 380; Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2010], 316-23).

<sup>38</sup> Cf. the literary and historical-geographical analysis of 2 Kgs 10:32-33 by Lemaire, "Hazaël de Damas, roi d'Aram," 101-105. This is what I suggested in "Les conquêtes de Hazaël", 22-25, and in *Testament*, 98-100. Contrary to what S. Hasewaga ("Looking for Aphek," *VT* 62 [2012]: 514) states, my argument does not imply a perfect parallel with Josh 12:3, where two seas form the boundary. The northern boundary of the territory may be designated by the Sea of Galilee as well as by Aphek in the Golan. This makes no difference since Aphek lies just to the east of this sea. My point is that it is the same territory in both cases.

<sup>39</sup> Since the submission of this paper, a very interesting article has been published by S. Hasewaga, in which he interacts with, among others, my proposal ("The Conquests of Hazael in 2 Kings 13:22 in the Antiochian Text," *JBL* 133 [2014]: 61-76). I cannot discuss it in detail



### 3.2. *Victory in Aram or in Israel?*

At first sight, it seems difficult to decide whether a scribe or a translator changed Aram into Israel or vice versa. At the very least, one can note that there is some logic in the fact that the witness according to which the battles are supposed to occur near Samaria, at the very heart of the Northern Kingdom, speaks of an arrow of victory *in Israel*. Similarly, if the victories occur in Aphek to the east of the Sea of Galilee, that is, at the boundary of a territory conquered by Hazael, it is reasonable to connect the arrow with a victory *in Aram* (or even “against” or “over” Aram if we are to understand the preposition ב in this sense).

There is however no symmetry in this matter. A scribe considering that the victory occurred near Samaria would have had no difficulty in speaking of a victory *in Israel* or *against Aram*, because the enemy remains the same in both cases. However, one would understand that a scribe speaking of a victory in Aphek in the Golan, *outside* the Israelite territory (or at least on the very boundary between Israel and Aram), would have found awkward to speak of an arrow of victory *in Israel* (and of course, *against Israel* would be absurd here). Therefore a correlation with the former variant seems possible. The change Ḥaṣerot into Aphek had led also to the change בארם into בִּישְׂרָאֵל.

### 3.3. *The name of the king*

Since the name of the king in the OL appears in places (twice in v. 16, once in v. 18) where MT and LXX<sup>L</sup> only have “the king of Israel,” one could argue that it was added in order to fit the new location of the passage. But if so, one wonders why the redactor had not simply changed the name where it occurred in the original text. One would have to assume that he deleted the name at least in the places where originally it had been present, then decided to add the new name in other places. Moreover, the same argument could be used conversely, leading to the conclusion that all the occurrences of “Jehoash” in MT and LXX<sup>L</sup> are secondary. And we cannot rule out the possibility that in fact, the king was anonymous in the earliest state of the text. Thus, the arguments are inconclusive in this matter.

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here; suffice it to say that, though I am very grateful to Hasewaga for brilliantly refining the debate, I am not convinced by his own solution which seems to me “highly speculative” (as he himself admits, 68). However, Hasewaga agrees that in 2 Kgs 13:17, “Aseroth was supplanted by Aphek when the entire episode was moved from 2 Kings 10 to 2 Kings 13” (74).

#### 4. *The literary contexts*

##### 4.1. *Methodological approach*

The most striking difference relates to the location of the pericope. How can such a difference be assessed text-critically? Three kinds of possible solutions may be suggested.

First, it might be that the content of the pericope itself has been affected during the transposition, for example in order to make some details fit the new context. As we have seen above, such “collateral changes” seem to have happened here (“Ḥaṣerot” into “Aphek” and “in Israel” into “in Aram”).

Second, one may hope to find traces of the compositional process. Since the very nature of the text-critical problem here corresponds to the problem studied by literary or compositional criticism, the same methods will be relevant (e.g. identification of *Wiederaufnahmen*). The entanglement between textual criticism and compositional criticism is now widely acknowledged in the scholarly debate.

Third, it could be that the evidence for the original location of the pericope comes to the fore because of the greater relevance of the pericope in this context (from a structural or a narrative point of view). Conversely, the pericope might appear artificial in the new context. Of course there is always the risk that a transposition is made precisely in order to give the pericope a better literary context. Therefore, caution is needed.

In addition, it is possible also that the textual traditions we have, and consequently the two contexts they give our pericope (chs. 10 and 13), reflect two different ways of inserting a pericope which was originally independent (cf. in New Testament textual criticism the famous case of the pericope of the woman caught in adultery, John 7:53-8:11).

##### 4.2. *Analysis from the point of view of compositional criticism*

With regard to possible traces of a compositional process, it has long been noted that the last passage concerning Elisha disrupts the flow of the text in ch. 13, and even that this pericope lies outside the usual framework since it begins after the concluding formula about Jehoash (13:12-13).<sup>40</sup> In fact, there is another conclusion about this king in the next chapter (14:15-16). This is probably related to the fact that 14:8-14, a northern text (cf. “Beth-Shemesh, *which belongs to Judah*” in 14:11), still involving Jehoash, might have been transposed from the end of the section concerning the latter king to the section about Amasiah, as Klostermann has suggested.<sup>41</sup> If this is correct, the other conclusion at the end of ch. 13, occurring only in the

<sup>40</sup> S. L. McKenzie, *The Trouble with Kings: The Composition of the Book of Kings in the Deuteronomistic History* (VTSup 42; Leiden/Boston: Brill, 1991), 97.

<sup>41</sup> Klostermann, 437-438.

Antiochian text (13:25-26 LXX<sup>L</sup>), might be the original one, located after the original position of 14:8-14 in ch. 13. There is no simple solution to this complicated situation,<sup>42</sup> but the point is that the overall organization of 13:10-14:16 MT seems messy.

What about 2 Kgs 10? In the OL, the pericope, together with the dynastic promise (10:30), is bracketed by two sentences containing identical statements about the imitation of Jeroboam I by Jehu:

- V. 29 “*But Jehu did not turn aside from the sins of Jeroboam son of Nebat, which he caused Israel to commit—the golden calves that were in Bethel and in Dan.*”
- V. 30 “The Lord said to Jehu, ‘Because you have done well in carrying out what I consider right, and in accordance with all that was in my heart you have dealt with the house of Ahab, your sons of the fourth generation shall sit on the throne of Israel.’”
- [Equivalent of 2 Kgs 13:14-21]
- V. 31 “*But Jehu was not careful to follow the law of the Lord God of Israel with all his heart; he did not turn from the sins of Jeroboam, which he caused Israel to commit.*”

In other words, there is a *Wiederaufnahme* formed by vv. 29 and 31.<sup>43</sup> One could argue that this is a compositional trace of the insertion of v. 30 alone, but the insertion may comprehend v. 30 *together with* 2 Kgs 13:14-21\*. It is worth noting that the same phenomenon may lie behind the insertion of other prophetic narratives (see the *Wiederaufnahme* in 1 Kgs 12:32-33 and 13:33-34 enclosing the long narrative about a “man of God”)<sup>44</sup>. This may be the case also in some Elijah/Elisha narratives (cf. a possible *Wiederaufnahme* in 2 Kgs 1:1 and 3:4-5 enclosing the last narratives concerning Elijah, although the presence of 1:1 seems secondary).

In sum, while absolute certainty is not possible here, we may well have a trace in ch. 10 of the insertion of the pericope in the books of Kings, by way of a classical compositional process. In addition to the fact that, by contrast, the present organization of 2 Kgs 13 MT seems disrupted by some modifications of its narrative flow and dtr frame, we have here good reasons to assume that the OL has preserved the original place of the passage. If one argues conversely that a scribe tried to improve a messy text by transposing the pericope from ch. 13 to ch. 10, one has to assume the occurrence of an improbable coincidence, since the scribe would have extended by chance the inner part of a *Wiederaufnahme* that would have been originally, and astonishingly, limited to one verse, 10:30.

<sup>42</sup> See Richelle, *Testament*, 113-20, for a detailed discussion and a proposed solution.

<sup>43</sup> Trebelle Barrera, *Jehu y Joas*, 101-64; idem, “Textual Pluralism,” 226.

<sup>44</sup> T. Römer, *La première histoire d’Israël: L’école deutéronomiste à l’œuvre* (Genève: Labor et Fides, 2007), 162.

### 4.3. *Analysis of the literary contexts*

#### 4.3.1. *Elisha's prediction and its fulfillment*

Since the traditional location of the pericope is in ch. 13, there is no need to discuss this well-known context in detail.<sup>45</sup> The presence of 2 Kgs 13:14-21 in this chapter makes good sense because this narrative gives a prolepsis of vv. 22-25. Elisha announces Israelite victories to Jehoash, and the end of the chapter reports the fulfillment of this prediction. Moreover, since Jehoash conquered only some Israelite cities while Jeroboam II really restored the whole territory, and even extended it (14:25), this would match the incomplete success announced by Elisha.

This could lead to two opposite conclusions. On the one hand, this may mean that ch. 13 is the correct context for the pericope. However, there remains the problem of the disrupted organization of the chapter. On the other hand, the possible connection between this narrative and the victories of Jehoash could have motivated a redactor to insert the pericope here. If the original place of the narrative was in ch. 10, there was an ellipse regarding the fulfillment of Elisha's prediction since there is no account of battles by Jehu against the Aramaeans in the rest of the book. In a sense, 2 Kgs 10:32-33 implicitly alludes to such battles, but the absence of a detailed account might frustrate the reader. He cannot but interpret the victories announced by the man of God as insufficient to repel Hazael's army. This would explain why Elisha seems so disappointed. Again, this may be interpreted in two different ways. It could mean either that ch. 10 cannot be the original context of the pericope, or it was the reason of its transposition into ch. 13. Note, however, that even in ch. 13 no detailed account of Jehoash's victories is given.<sup>46</sup>

#### 4.3.2. *Does the pericope fit the context of chapter 10?*

In order to correctly assess the impact of the presence of the pericope about Elisha in 2 Kgs 10, more precisely at the end of the section concerning Jehu, we need to better understand what chs. 9-10 tell us about this king. Interestingly, two doctoral dissertations published in the same year (2007) draw different but complementary conclusions with regard to the way the dtr redactor(s) apprehended Jehu and his *coup d'Etat*.

In *Righteous Jehu and his Evil Heirs*, in a meticulous comparison with the dtr material about the other kings in 1 Sam to 2 Kgs, as well as with the Ancient Near Eastern royal inscriptions, David T. Lamb points out striking

<sup>45</sup> For a recent study of this chapter, see J. W. Olley, "2 Kings 13: A Cluster of Hope in God," *JSOT* 36 (2011): 199-218.

<sup>46</sup> Another possibility is that the fulfillment should be regarded as postponed until the reign of one of Jehu's successors. Similarly the order given to Elijah in 1 Kgs 19:15 is (indirectly) obeyed by Elisha in 2 Kgs 9:1-4.

peculiarities in the manner in which the biblical text presents Jehu.<sup>47</sup> Against this background, it appears that positive aspects of Jehu's career are highlighted (e.g. his divine election and anointing), whereas some negative aspects are omitted (the tribute to Shalmaneser III), mitigated (the territorial losses) or justified (his violence). Moreover, according to Lamb, the positive characteristics of Jehu which are emphasized make him one of the favorite leaders in the Deuteronomistic History. Parallels with David show a pro-charismatic dtr bias. On the other hand, Dtr's handling of his sources concerning the heirs of Jehu reveal a negative stance (for instance, Jeroboam II's huge successes are mentioned only in passing). In sum, Dtr deliberately shaped the narrative about Jehu in a positive way and adopted a negative perspective on the rest of his dynasty, despite information from his sources which could lead to different evaluations. (According to Lamb, the reason for this is because Dtr wanted to discredit the principle of dynastic succession and to promote charismatic leadership.)

The second book, written by Lissa Wray Beal,<sup>48</sup> is devoted to the same subject but from the point of view of narrative criticism. According to her detailed analysis, the narrative voices suggest that Dtr ultimately *disapproves* Jehu's action. For instance,

the notice of fulfillment of 2 Kgs 10:17 carried authority because it was in the voice of the authoritative narrator, and Jehu's own notices of fulfillment sustained ambiguity because they were in the voice of a fallible character. It is the fact that Jehu proclaims his own prophetic words, and that Jehu proclaims those words' fulfillment, that shows him disapproved by Dtr.<sup>49</sup>

This is not to say that Jehu is criticized in every respect and presented as a negative character. On the whole, Wray Beal discerns in the narrative an ambivalent portrait of Jehu, including both positive and negative elements, which were reflected in the final evaluation (10:29-31).

This is not the place to evaluate these two interesting works. Suffice it to say that they highlight complementary aspects of the characterization of Jehu. All in all, Jehu's evaluation by the dtr redactor(s), whether explicit in the final sentences or implicit in the narrative, is twofold, positive and negative. Lamb underscores the positive facet, while Wray Beal's work is precious in that it helps discern a subtle critique and thus better understand the negative facet of Jehu.

In our context the question is: to what extent does the presence of the passage concerning Elisha change the portrait of Jehu?

<sup>47</sup> D. T. Lamb, *Righteous Jehu and His Evil Heirs: The Deuteronomist's Negative Perspective on Dynastic Succession* (Oxford Theological Monographs; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

<sup>48</sup> L. M. Wray Beal, *The Deuteronomist's Prophet: Narrative Control of Approval and Disapproval in the Story of Jehu (2 Kings 9 and 10)* (Library of Hebrew Bible/OTS 478; New York/London: T&T Clark, 2007).

<sup>49</sup> Wray Beal, *Deuteronomist's Prophet*, 187.

First of all, two details in the pericope could well allude to two features of the Jehu narratives. The main point in 2 Kgs 9-10 is the fact that Jehu killed a king by *shooting arrows* while on a *chariot* (9:24). His way of driving his own chariot seems to have been famous since a lookout recognizes him by it, noticing that “he drives like a madman” (9:20). In this light, the title used for Elisha by the king of our pericope (2 Kgs 13:14) would be far more meaningful if it were Jehu who is using it, not Jehoash. It is even true if we are to understand something like “chariots of Israel and its horsemen,” but it is much more striking if we were to read, like the OL, “chariot-driver of Israel and his horseman,” a sort of *hendiadys* for an individual. For Jehu this title would certainly be the most honorific title possible because it would be in line with his own practice and pride. In addition, there might be some irony in the fact that Elisha, in response, commands him to take a bow and *to shoot arrows*; this could be a veiled allusion to his regicide.

Secondly, Dany Nocquet has already noted the presence of a dtr frame (2 Kgs 8:25-29; 10:28-36) of the Jehu narratives.<sup>50</sup> The first part of this framework might even be extended to 2 Kgs 8:20-29. In both panels of the framework, we find similar themes: the bad behavior of the kings, the loss of territories and the dynastic succession. In the OG, this framework is even more extended because there is a new link resulting from the encounter and discussion between Elisha and a king or future king.

#### **A. First panel of the framework:**

Jehoram of Judah, a southern king like the northern kings

- *Elisha*: discussion with the future king Hazael, announcement of Aramaean oppression (2 Kgs 8:7-15)
- *etiology of Jehoram's behavior*: kinship with Ahab's house (8:18)
- *consequences*: defeats and loss of territories (8:20-22.28-29)
- *dynastic succession*: maintained in spite of the king's behavior (8:19)

#### **B. Narratives concerning Jehu (9:1-10:27)**

#### **A'. Second panel of the framework:**

Jehu, a northern king despite his yahwistic zeal

- *etiology of Jehu's behavior*: sin of Jeroboam (10:29.31)
- *consequences*: defeats and loss of territories (10:32)
- *dynastic succession*: maintained by divine promise (10:30)
- *Elisha*: visited by king Jehu, announcement of limited victories against Aram (13:14-21)

The second supplementary link is further strengthened by the numerous similarities between the two episodes (Elisha and Hazael in 2 Kgs 8:7-15; Elisha and Jehu in 2 Kgs 13:14-21\*):

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<sup>50</sup> D. Nocquet, *Le “livret noir de Baal”: La polémique contre le dieu Baal dans la Bible hébraïque et l'ancien Israël* (Genève: Labor et Fides, 2004), 222-227.

	2 Kgs 8:7-15	2 Kgs 13:14-20
characters	Elisha; future king Hazael	Elisha; king Jehoash
“son” of Elisha	“your son Ben-Hadad” (v. 9)	“My Father! My Father!” (v. 14)
initial situation	“Ben-Hadad king of Aram was ill” (v. 7)	“Elisha had been suffering from the illness from which he died” (v. 14)
final situation	“[Ben-Hadad] died” (v. 15)	“Elisha died” (v. 21)
character weeping	“the man of God began to weep” (v. 11)	“[Jehoash] wept over [Elisha]” (v. 14)
Announcement of military victories	“I know the harm you will do to the Israelites... You will set fire to their fortified places...” (v. 12)	“You will completely destroy the Aramaeans at Aphek” (v. 17)

What is the effect of this extended framework on the characterization of Jehu? At least three elements are worth noting.

First, the parallels create a paradoxical contrast between, on the one hand, two Judaeen kings (Yoram and Ahaziah) whose attitude resembles the apostate northern kings and jeopardizes the dynastic stability of Judah, and on the other hand a northern king (Jehu) whose yahwistic behavior is “rewarded” by an unexpected dynastic promise for Israel. This wider context for the Jehu narratives enhances the “positive” side of his evaluation.

Second, the same framework draws parallels which highlight the fact that in spite of his zeal for yahwism, Jehu remains a northern king, who persists in the sins of Jeroboam, son of Nebat, and during whose reign Israel suffers severe territorial losses.

Third, the parallelism, and the intertextuality, between the two encounters with Elisha underscore a significant change: in the first meeting, Elisha weeps and promises to a future king terrifying victories; the second time, it is the king who is weeping, and the conclusion of the promises is that the victories will be limited. Moreover, Elisha’s sadness in our pericope echoes his sadness during his discussion with Hazael. He wept when he saw what Hazael would do to his people, he is sad when he understands that the Israelite king will not be able to completely defeat the Aramaeans. This makes better sense if this king is Jehu and if it occurs just before Hazael’s victories (which are mentioned almost immediately after our pericope in the OL).

All of this enhances the “negative” side of the evaluation of Jehu. In sum, the extended framework serves to acknowledge Jehu’s merits but also to relativize his achievements: he is nevertheless a northern king who acts as such, and he proves to be disappointing to Elisha; a relatively weak king who will not be able to subjugate the Aramaeans. As a result, the structure of the OG text not only is congruent with the subtle logic of approval/disapproval pointed out by Wray Beal, but enhances it.

### 5. Conclusion

This study has pointed out four main textual differences between the Masoretic Text and the Old Greek in 2 Kgs 13:14-21: three are “small” differences (Aphek/Ḥaṣerot in v. 17; in Aram/in Israel in v. 17; Jehoash/Jehu as the name of the king), and the fourth concerns the place of the pericope (ch. 13/ch. 10). Three scenarios may be suggested in order to explain these differences.

First, it could be that the *Vorlage* of the Septuagint has transposed the pericope from ch. 13 to ch. 10. In 2 Kgs 13, Elisha’s predictions fit the context since they are fulfilled at the end of the chapter. However, it seems difficult to explain why the place name Aphek would have been changed into Ḥaṣerot, a quite insignificant place, and why a victory “in Israel” would have been preferable to a victory “in or against Aram.”

Second, according to the opposite scenario, a redactor transferred the text from ch. 10 to ch. 13. Indeed, its location in the Old Latin reveals a possible *Wiederaufnahme* which might correspond to the place of the earliest insertion of the pericope in 2 Kings. Moreover, the transposition could have been motivated by a connection, made by a redactor, between Elisha’s prediction and Jehoash’s (limited) successes, while in ch. 10 there is only an elliptical allusion to battles against Hazael. At the same time, the seemingly messy state of 2 Kgs 13 MT might suggest the artificial situation thus created. In addition, Ḥaṣerot would have been changed into Aphek because the latter was mentioned in the same chapter (in 2 Kgs 13:22 LXX<sup>L</sup>) as a boundary of the disputed territories, and this change, in turn, would have led to the change “in Israel” into “in Aram” because the place of the battles would not be in Israel any more. The name of the king would have been changed into Jehoash. In other words, all these changes are related, so that we have in reality a little network of correlated variants. Furthermore, the pericope seems to play an important role in the literary context of 2 Kgs 8-10, both from a structural and from a narrative point of view. In particular, the mention of “chariots” or “chariot-driver,” and the shooting of arrows, in 2 Kgs 13:14, would allude to two features of Jehu’s *coup d’État*.

A third scenario should be taken into account: the pericope (presumably involving an anonymous king) might have been an independent literary unit which two different editions of the books of Kings placed in two different contexts. This is an attractive but less “economical” hypothesis since the existence of a third situation is conjectural, not attested in preserved manuscripts. More importantly, the role played by the pericope in the context of 2 Kgs 8-10, both on the level of structure and of intertextuality, and the presence of two details in the very *content* of the pericope (namely the mention of “chariots” or “chariot-driver”, and that of “arrows”) which fit Jehu’s section, incline me to prefer the hypothesis that 2 Kgs 10 is the original context. The pericope may have been written within this context and for this context.



Of course, such difficult matters require humility on the part of scholars. As we have noted during the analysis, some arguments are reversible. One could also ask whether 2 Kgs 13:22 LXX<sup>L</sup> was really there *before* the transposition of the pericope into ch. 13. Yet it seems significant that it is possible to describe a coherent scenario which explains all the variants as correlated. To the best of my knowledge, a coherent scenario in the opposite direction is still to be written, and scholars who regard the MT as more original in this chapter, have not yet provided an explanation for the state of the text in the Old Greek. In any case, further discussion may allow us to better understand what happened here.

Finally, one may wonder whether still another motivation lies behind the transposition. According to Treballe Barrera, its purpose was to identify the “savior” of 2 Kgs 13:5 MT as Elisha. Indeed, where the MT speaks of a “savior,” the LXX mentions a “victory” (or “liberation”), the same word as in v. 17.<sup>51</sup> But it is doubtful that the motivation for the transposition lies in this aspect. In fact, the pericope does not present Elisha as a “savior” at all. On the contrary, he only predicts disappointingly limited victories. Another hypothesis can be formulated. Olley has noted an intertextual link between 2 Kgs 13 and 1 Kgs 20:<sup>52</sup> both Ahab and the king of 2 Kgs 13:14-21 are criticized by a “man of God” because they have not fought with the utmost energy against the Aramaeans (cf. 1 Kgs 20:33-34.42). Thus 2 Kgs 13:14-21 could well imply that the king has the same attitude as Ahab towards the Aramaeans. (In fact, several scholars believe that originally the king of 1 Kgs 20 was Jehoash himself.<sup>53</sup>) Could it have been in the interests of a redactor, sensitive to the yahwistic action of Jehu, to exempt him from this comparison? Obviously, this remains very speculative.

To these analyses regarding 2 Kgs 13:14-21, one should add that a detailed comparison between the very next verses (vv. 20b-21)—a surprising episode indeed—shows that the MT represents a reworked text, while the OL more probably reflects the original state of the text (and LXX<sup>L</sup> seems to be a compromise, having been revised to be in line with the MT).<sup>54</sup> Given the strong link between the two successive narratives (which share a “janus” sentence, v. 20a), one could argue that it enhances the probability that 2 Kgs 13:14-21 MT has been reworked too. However, one cannot rule out the possibility that these modifications have been made by different scribes at different times.

<sup>51</sup> Treballe Barrera, “Histoire du texte des livres historiques,” 340-341.

<sup>52</sup> Olley, “A Cluster of Hope,” 207.

<sup>53</sup> E. g. A. Jepsen, “Israel und Damaskus,” *AfO* 14 (1942): 154-158; A. Lemaire, “La stèle araméenne de Bar-Hadad,” *Or* 53 (1984): 345; V. Fritz, *1 & 2 Kings* (CC; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2003), 204-205.

<sup>54</sup> J. Treballe Barrera, “Dos Textos para un relato de resurrección: 2 Re 13.20-21 TM LXX<sup>B</sup>/LXX<sup>L</sup> VL,” *Sef* 43 (1983): 3-16; Richelle, *Testament*, 73-87.

TM	LXX <sup>L</sup>	VL
<p>14 וַיֵּשֶׁב יִשְׂרָאֵל בְּתַלְמַיִם אֶת־הַמֶּלֶךְ אֲשֶׁר־הָיָה אֲשֶׁר־הָיָה בְּיָמָיו</p> <p>וַיֵּשֶׁב יִשְׂרָאֵל בְּתַלְמַיִם אֶת־הַמֶּלֶךְ אֲשֶׁר־הָיָה אֲשֶׁר־הָיָה בְּיָמָיו</p>	<p>13 καὶ Ἐλισσαίη ἠρρώσθησε τὴν ἀρρωστίαν αὐτοῦ δι' ἣν καὶ ἀπέθανεν</p> <p>καὶ κατέβη Ἰואς βασιλεὺς Ἰσραὴλ πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ ἔκλαυσεν ἐπὶ προσώπον αὐτοῦ καὶ εἶπεν πάτερ ἄνθρωπε Ἰσραὴλ καὶ ἡμεῖς αὐτοῦ</p> <p>14 καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ Ἐλισσαίη λαβὲ τόξον καὶ βολίδας καὶ ἔλαβεν Ἰואς πρὸς ἐαυτὸν τόξον καὶ βέλη</p> <p>15 καὶ εἶπεν Ἐλισσαίη τῷ βασιλεῖ Ἰσραὴλ ἐπιβίβασον τὴν χειρά σου ἐπὶ τὸ τόξον καὶ ἐπεβίβασεν ὁ βασιλεὺς τὴν χειρά αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὸ τόξον καὶ ἐπέθηκεν Ἐλισσαίη τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὰς χεῖρας τοῦ βασιλέως</p> <p>16 καὶ εἶπεν ἄνοιξον τὴν θυρίδα κατα ἀνατολὰς καὶ ἦνοιξεν καὶ εἶπεν Ἐλισσαίη τόξευσον καὶ ἐτόξευσεν</p> <p>καὶ εἶπεν βέλος σωτηρίας τῷ κυρίῳ καὶ βέλος σωτηρίας ἐν Ἰσραὴλ καὶ πατάξεις τὴν Συρίαν ἐν Ἀφεκ ὥς συντελείας</p>	<p>14 Et helisseus infirmatus est infirmitatē suam qua mortuus est</p> <p>et descendit at eum rex israel et ploravit super faciem eius dicens pater pater <span style="border: 1px solid black;">rector</span> israel et eques eius</p> <p>15 Et dixit at eū helisseus accipe arcū et sagittas accepit arcū et sagittas</p> <p>16 Et dixit at <span style="border: 1px solid black;">ieu</span> regem israel inpone manum tuam super arcum et inposuit manum suam ieu et superinposuit manus suas helisseus super manus <span style="border: 1px solid black;">ieu</span> regis</p> <p>17 Et dixit aperi fenestram quae ab oriente est et aperuit et dixit helisseus sagittare et sagittavit et dixit helisseus sagitta salutis dmī et sagitta salutis in israel et percutes syriam <span style="border: 1px solid black;">in aseroth quae contra faciem samariae usq· at finē</span> Et aperuit fenestram secundam et dixit sagittare et sagittavit sagittam salutis dmī et sagittam salutis israel et dixit helisseus percutes syriā totam</p>

[illegible]

**DU SACERDOCE À LA ROYAUTÉ:**  
Une suppléance hasmonéenne sur le trône de David selon le texte  
massorétique de Zacharie 6,11-15?

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*À la mémoire de Dominique Barthélemy o.p.*

*1. Zerubbabel fils de Shealtiel et Josué fils de Yehotsadaq*

Dans les livres d'Aggée et Zacharie<sup>1</sup> aussi bien qu'en Ezra-Néhémie,<sup>2</sup> Zerubbabel fils de Shealtiel et Josué fils de Yehotsadaq sont désignés côte à côte comme les leaders inséparables de l'entreprise de reconstruction du Temple.<sup>3</sup>

La focalisation sur le seul Zerubbabel à la fin d'Aggée (2,20-23) paraît faire exception à première vue, mais en réalité elle ne détonne pas avec le reste des oracles où Josué et Zerubbabel sont associés. En effet, dès le début du chapitre les oracles sont adressés à Zerubbabel aussi bien qu'à Josué (2,1-2.4). Le "Pour Zerubbabel" de la fin du chapitre est donc en perspective et touche les oreilles de Josué le grand prêtre. Mais surtout, l'oracle sur le Temple au début du chapitre (vv. 3-9) et le "Pour Zerubbabel" de la fin du chapitre (vv. 20-23), ces deux oracles sont mis en perspective l'un avec l'autre et se font parfaitement écho. Ils sont d'ailleurs datés du même jour, la parole étant explicitement donnée une seconde fois (שנית) selon le v. 20. De plus, John Kessler<sup>4</sup> a mis en évidence le fait qu'ils sont structurés de façon semblable:

- (1) Annonce d'un ébranlement cosmique: וְאֶת־הָאָרֶץ (vv. 6 et 21),

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<sup>1</sup> Ag 1,2.12.14; 2,2.4; Za 3-4.

<sup>2</sup> Ezra 3,2.8; 4,3; 5,2; 12,1.

<sup>3</sup> G. Goswell, "The Fate and Future of Zerubbabel in the Prophecy of Haggai," *Bib* 91 (2010): 77-90, rappelle fort à propos que c'est toujours avec le peuple et dans la perspective de la reconstruction du temple qu'ils apparaissent côte à côte (90).

<sup>4</sup> J. Kessler, "Haggai, Zerubbabel, and the Political Status of Yehud: The Signet Ring in Hagai 2:23," in *Prophets, Prophecy, and Prophetic Texts in Second Temple Judaism* (ed. M. H. Floyd and R. D. Haak; Library of Hebrew Bible/OTS 427; New York/London: T&T Clark, 2006), 102-119, cf. 113 sur ce point.

- (2) suivie de l'annonce d'un ébranlement des pouvoirs politiques (vv. 7aa et 22a),
- (3) ébranlements cosmique et politique qui débouchent respectivement sur une promesse pour le Temple et une autre pour le Davidide.<sup>5</sup>

Cette correspondance formelle est soutenue littérairement puisque la promesse pour le temple est celle d'une plénitude de gloire jamais encore atteinte pour le temple et donc de présence du SEIGNEUR. A cette promesse fait écho la promesse d'une restauration de l'autorité royale de Zerubbabel qui sera comme le sceau du SEIGNEUR au milieu des nations.

Dans les prophéties de Zacharie, datées de l'année suivante (519), on retrouve Josué et Zerubbabel étroitement associés. Za 3 est consacré à la justification de Josué le grand prêtre, qui se voit revêtu du "pur turban" et de vêtements nouveaux. Une fois justifié et établi dans sa dignité, Josué reçoit l'annonce que le SEIGNEUR va susciter: "Germe mon serviteur" (Za 3,8). Et, en Za 4, la vision du chandelier et des deux oliviers débouche (dans les vv. 6-10) sur la promesse à Zerubbabel qu'il achèvera lui-même la construction du Temple (Za 4,9):

Les mains de Zerubbabel ont posé les fondations de cette Maison et ses mains en viendront à bout!

## 2. La disparition de Zerubbabel

Au regard de toutes ces données qui mettent Josué et Zerubbabel côte à côte, on peut s'étonner, avec l'ensemble des commentateurs, de ce que Za 6,9-15, ne mentionne pas le nom de Zerubbabel. En effet, cet oracle reprend la promesse du Germe de Za 3,8 et il a pour thème central la personne qui doit construire le temple et siéger sur le trône pour gouverner. C'est le dernier oracle à faire écho aux promesses adressées à Josué et Zerubbabel dans les livres d'Aggée-Zacharie mais il ne parle pas de Zerubbabel.

Cela dit, l'omission du nom de Zerubbabel n'est peut-être pas si surprenante, car cet oracle est le seul qui vise de manière explicite l'exercice *effectif* du pouvoir politique, en rapport avec l'occupation du trône et adossé à la reconstruction du temple. Même dans la finale d'Aggée, où Zerubbabel apparaît sur fond d'effondrement des royaumes, c'est Dieu qui dirige une histoire dans laquelle les royaumes se feront la guerre entre eux (Ag 2,22),

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<sup>5</sup> Parfois contestée, l'appartenance de Zerubbabel à la lignée des Davidides est en tout cas évidente pour le texte lui-même, lorsque le fils de Shealtiel est appelé *mon serviteur* dans le verset même où il est choisi comme "sceau" du SEIGNEUR! Cf. Kessler, "Haggai, Zerubbabel and the Political Status of Yehud," 112; Y. Goldman, *Prophétie et royauté au retour de l'exil. Les origines littéraires de la forme massorétique du livre de Jérémie* (OBO 118; Fribourg: Editions universitaires; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1992), 231-235.

tandis qu'au moment de l'effondrement de l'ordre politique international, le SEIGNEUR prendra Zerubbabel comme "sceau". Une telle prophétie ne disait rien d'explicite au sujet du pouvoir politique de Zerubbabel ni du trône. Elle ne pouvait être lue par un regard extérieur que comme une espérance pour la fin de l'histoire et l'affirmation d'une intimité particulière avec le SEIGNEUR. Tandis que Za 6,13 promet expressément au Germe un pouvoir effectif lié au trône et appuyé sur la reconstruction du Temple. La connexion entre l'exercice du pouvoir sur le trône et la reconstruction du temple allait sans doute au-delà de l'autorisation impériale et pouvait justement constituer la ligne rouge à ne pas franchir. Il est donc tout à fait possible que le sujet ait été politiquement trop sensible pour qu'on livre le nom d'un leader en particulier.

De fait, cette discrétion sur le nom propre du Germe en Za 6 fait écho à un mouvement amorcé dans les chs. 3-4. Déjà en Za 3,8, dans un oracle adressé à Josué, la reprise de la promesse du Germe dynastique de Jr 23 *ne mentionne pas Zerubbabel*. Ce dernier ne sera nommé qu'au ch. 4, en tant que constructeur du Temple *sans recours à la force* (Za 4,6.9).<sup>6</sup>

Tout discours visant à fonder l'espérance d'une restauration de la royauté sur la construction du temple semble avoir fait l'objet d'une autocensure volontaire. On pense naturellement ici à une surveillance administrative des discours ayant une portée politique dans la Medinah.<sup>7</sup> Une surveillance assez précise, qui semble n'avoir eu pour but que de réprimer tout appel à la restauration de l'ancienne royauté. Une surveillance de cette nature n'avait pas à s'embarrasser d'allusions plus subtiles qui paraissaient légitimer Zerubbabel dans une perspective royale aux yeux des connaisseurs de la tradition judéenne, ni des promesses d'un leader pour un avenir lointain (Za 6).

L'autocensure qu'une telle surveillance a pu susciter est très sensible dans l'asymétrie qui marque la présentation de Josué et de Zerubbabel dans leur rapport à l'histoire d'Israël.

- D'un côté l'autorité religieuse, qui peut se prévaloir de la bienveillance de l'empereur, est affirmée sans réserve et de façon systématique, soulignant la continuité de l'histoire Judéenne: "Josué fils de Yehotsadaq le grand prêtre."

<sup>6</sup> Certes, la promesse d'un descendant de David construisant le temple suffisait à rappeler à un public averti la promesse dynastique de 2 S 7,13. Cependant, telle qu'elle est formulée en Za 4, elle ne dit rien de plus qu'un renouveau d'identité et de leadership spirituel et, surtout, elle demeure dans la perspective, agréée par l'autorité impériale, de la reconstruction du temple de Jérusalem.

<sup>7</sup> Pour la Province de *Yehûd* dans l'empire perse, voir A. Lemaire, "Populations et territoires de la Palestine à l'époque perse," *Transeu* 3 (1990): 31-74, spéc. 33-45.

- De l'autre côté, celui du pouvoir administratif: alors même que Josué est toujours accolé à Zerubbabel, les qualités royales de ce dernier ne sont jamais explicitées. Il faut passer par un réseau d'allusions à la tradition pour lui associer la nostalgie de la royauté davidique et une espérance de restauration.

La prudence qui enveloppe du discret manteau du pèlerin le bouillonnement de l'espérance dynastique, cette prudence est telle que, malgré tous les indices qui dans ces textes attestent de cette espérance puissante, certains chercheurs ont été conduits à relativiser l'idée selon laquelle Zerubbabel aurait été porteur d'une réelle espérance de restauration de la royauté.<sup>8</sup>

Cet effacement de Zerubbabel en Za 3,8 et en Za 6,11-13, avait sans doute des motifs politiques au temps de Zacharie,<sup>9</sup> mais près de quatre siècles plus tard, il présentera un intérêt tout particulier pour justifier l'exercice d'un pouvoir hors du lignage davidique à Jérusalem. Dans ces conditions, le couronnement du grand prêtre en Za 6,11 en vue de l'annonce d'un successeur au Germe (6,12) régnant à sa place (6,12) était un lieu idéal pour montrer que la prophétie de Zacharie contenait de manière voilée l'annonce du pouvoir hasmonéen. Or il se trouve qu'un certain nombre des traits propres au texte massorétique de Za 6,11-15 *rendent possible* la lecture de l'oracle en vue du règne à venir d'un homme exerçant à la fois le pouvoir et le sacerdoce sur le trône. L'hypothèse de lecture dans la suite de cette étude est donc que le texte massorétique de cet oracle reflète une étape importante dans la formation du canon des livres prophétiques: une édition à l'époque du pouvoir hasmonéen, tandis que le texte grec, traduit quelques décennies auparavant a préservé une forme plus ancienne de l'oracle.

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<sup>8</sup> Ainsi W. H. Rose, *Zemah and Zerubbabel: Messianic Expectations in the early Postexilic Period* (JSOTSup 304; Sheffield: Academic Press, 2000), 208-218; K. Pomykala, *The Davidic Dynasty Tradition in Early Judaism: Its History and Significance for Messianism* (SBLEJL 7; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995), 48-49. R. Mason, "The Messiah in the Postexilic Old Testament Literature," in *King and Messiah in Israel and the Ancient Near East* (ed. J. Day; JSOTSup 270; Sheffield: Academic Press, 1998), reconnaît lui aussi que tous les termes utilisés pour Zerubbabel peuvent avoir une connotation royale mais que ce n'est pas obligé, bien qu'il estime que l'ensemble et le contexte signifient un statut royal, cf. 341-342.

<sup>9</sup> Au delà de la discrétion des textes, Zerubbabel *semble* disparaître ensuite effectivement de l'histoire. La littérature sur la "disparition" ou non de Zerubbabel est bien trop importante pour être mentionnée même partiellement ici. Si l'on s'y intéresse, on pourra commencer par lire, outre les titres mentionnés à la n. 8, les articles de G. Goswell, "The Fate and Future of Zerubbabel," mentionné à la n. 3; l'excellente étude de Kessler, "Haggai, Zerubbabel, and the Political Status of Yehud," cité à la n. 4; la proposition de T. J. Lewis, "The Mysterious Disappearance of Zerubbabel," in *Seeking Out the Wisdom of the Ancients. Essays Offered to Honor Michael Fox on the Occasion of His Sixty-Fifth Birthday* (ed. R. L. Troxel, K. G. Friebel, and D. R. Magary; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2005), 301-314.

### 3. Une suppléance hasmonéenne sur le trône?

L'oracle de Zacharie 6,11-15 est énigmatique quant à sa visée originelle. D'une part c'est Josué le grand prêtre qui est couronné et lui seul, mais d'autre part, il reçoit une prophétie sur le Germe qui reconstruira le Temple du SEIGNEUR et siégera "sur son trône" pour gouverner (וְיָשֹׁבַע וְיָמְשֹׁל עַל-כִּסְאוֹ). Au regard de Za 3-4, le Germe devrait désigner Zerubbabel, mais le voici privé de couronne. Aussi nombre de chercheurs, lecteurs assidus du texte massorétique (M) et un peu moins du témoin grec des Douze (G), se sont demandé si, dans ce passage, un oracle originel en faveur de Zerubbabel n'avait pas été remanié au profit du sacerdoce.<sup>10</sup>

Cependant Mark Boda a montré que le texte, même tel qu'il est formulé dans le M, fait allusion à deux personnages distincts: Josué et Germe, et ne permet pas de fondre ces deux personnages en un seul.<sup>11</sup> Ce jugement reste majoritaire parmi les chercheurs et il me semble devoir être adopté sans l'ombre d'un doute. Cela étant, le texte particulier dont M est témoin permet de lire dans la prophétie de Zacharie la venue ultérieure d'un personnage effectuant des travaux dans le sanctuaire et unissant en sa seule personne le sacerdoce et le gouvernement.

Cette projection vers l'avenir trouve un point d'appui dans la phrase quelque peu énigmatique du v. 12: "et en dessous de lui il germera." La formule peut faire référence à une germination du Germe lui-même,<sup>12</sup> mais la locution prépositionnelle peut aussi être comprise "et à sa place il (quelqu'un) germera." Soit au sens que germera un pouvoir *dans le lieu* où s'est trouvé le Germe (Jérusalem),<sup>13</sup> soit aussi *à la place* du Germe. Une telle compréhension rend la phrase moins énigmatique et permet de projeter l'oracle dans un temps futur, différent de celui de Josué et Zerubbabel. Ce que le Germe n'a pu accomplir une autre germination prendra "sa place" pour le réaliser.

Une fois l'oracle projeté dans le futur relativement à l'époque de Josué Zerubbabel, il restait à résoudre la distinction des deux rôles du responsable politique et religieux, l'un siégeant sur le trône et un autre étant prêtre à "à sa droite" (G).

<sup>10</sup> Voir déjà la discussion rapportée par R. T. Siebeneck, "The Messianism of Aggeus and Proto-Zacharias," *CBQ* 19 (1957): 312-328, spéc. 321-323, et la bonne étude, plus récente, de M. J. Boda, "Oil, Crowns and Thrones: Prophet, Priest and King in Zechariah 1:7-6:15," *The Journal of Hebrew Scriptures* 3 (2001): art. 10, § 4.

<sup>11</sup> Boda, "Oil, Crowns and Thrones," 4.3.1 et 4.3.2.

<sup>12</sup> Ainsi Rashi: *de la descendance royale*, de même Altschuler père et fils, en "Metsoudat Tsion" et "Metsoudat David".

<sup>13</sup> Ainsi Ibn Ezra et Radaq.



Za 6, 11-14

καὶ λήμψη ἀργύριον καὶ χρυσίον καὶ ποιήσεις στεφάνους καὶ ἐπιθήσεις ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν Ἰησοῦ τοῦ Ἰωσεδεκ τοῦ ἱερέως τοῦ μεγάλου	וְלָמַחְתָּ כֶּסֶף-וְזָהָב וְעָשִׂיתָ עֲטָרוֹת וְשָׂמְתָּ בְּרֹאשׁ יְהוֹשֻׁעַ בֶּן-יְהוֹצָדָק הַכֹּהֵן הַגָּדוֹל:
καὶ ἐρεῖς πρὸς αὐτόν Τάδε λέγει κύριος παντοκράτωρ Ἴδου ἀνὴρ, Ἀνατολὴ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὑποκάτωθεν αὐτοῦ ἀνατελεῖ, καὶ οἰκοδομήσει τὸν οἶκον κυρίου·	וְאָמַרְתָּ אֵלָיו לְאָמֹר כֹּה אָמַר יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת לְאָמֹר הִנֵּה-אִישׁ צֶמַח שְׁמוֹ וּמִתְהַלְקוֹ יֵצֵא וּבָנָה אֶת-הַיְיכָל יְהוָה:
[...] καὶ αὐτὸς λήμψεται ἀρετὴν καὶ καθίεται καὶ κατάρξει ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἔσται ὁ ἱερεὺς ἐκ δεξιῶν αὐτοῦ, καὶ βουλὴ εἰρηνικὴ ἔσται ἀνὰ μέσον ἀμφοτέρων.	וְהוּא יִכְלֶה אֶת-הַיְיכָל יְהוָה וְהוּא יֵשֵׁא הָוֶד וַיָּשֶׁב וּמָשָׁל עַל-כִּסְאוֹ וְהָיָה כֹהֵן עַל-כִּסְאוֹ וַעֲצַת שְׁלֹם תִּהְיֶה בֵּין שְׁנֵיהֶם:
ὁ δὲ στέφανος ἔσται τοῖς ὑπομένουσιν καὶ τοῖς χρησίμοις αὐτῆς καὶ τοῖς ἐπεγνωκόσιν αὐτὴν καὶ εἰς χάριτα υἱοῦ Σοφονίου καὶ εἰς ψαλμὸν ἐν οἴκῳ κυρίου.	וְהָעֲטָרוֹת תִּהְיֶינָה לְחֵלֶם וּלְטוֹבִיָּה וּלְיִדְעָיָה וּלְחָן בֶּן-צִפְנְיָה לְזַכָּרוֹן בְּהַיְיכָל יְהוָה:

Nous aborderons maintenant les variantes principales entre G et M pour voir comment la difficulté est contournée dans le M.

### 3.1 Une ou deux couronnes?

La toute première trace d'un déplacement virtuel de la frontière entre le rôle du grand prêtre et celui de l'occupant du trône de David se trouve au v. 11 où le mot "couronne" (כֶּסֶף) apparaît avec la terminaison habituelle du pluriel alors qu'on ne verra couronné que Josué. "Et tu placeras sur sa tête," selon l'habitude de l'Hébreu signifiant l'objet dont il vient d'être question. Le G confirme cette forme avec le pluriel στεφάνους. Un pluriel que le contexte semble appeler puisque, même si la couronne peut sur-prendre dans le cas du grand prêtre, dans un tel contexte on attend au moins une autre couronne pour celui qui siégera et gouvernera sur le trône (v. 13).

Curieusement les Massorètes ont vocalisé à l'identique le mot au v. 14 où il présente du coup une graphie défective. Il s'agit du même objet qu'au v. 11, il est sujet d'un verbe au singulier: ... וְהָעֲטָרוֹת תִּהְיֶינָה לְחֵלֶם. Le traducteur de G, trouvant le verbe au singulier a pu reconnaître dans la graphie défective והעטרת la forme de loin la plus fréquente de ce mot dans le Tanakh: l'état

construit עָטָרָה.<sup>14</sup> L'apparat critique de *BHS* s'est appuyé sur cette leçon défective du v. 14 pour suggérer de lire, à l'inverse des Massorètes, le sg. עָטָרָה au v. 11 comme au v. 14.

La difficulté de cette conjecture est que la forme עָטָרָה qui revient dix-huit fois dans la Tanakh est toujours un état construit, ce qui ne saurait être le cas ici. De plus, les Massorètes ont vocalisé le mot à l'identique avec le verbe au singulier du v. 14 et il ne leur a probablement pas échappé que le destinataire est au singulier au v. 11.

Comme cela a déjà été noté par certains, on peut lire עָטָרוֹת comme un singulier, car il présente cette même forme en Job 31,36 avec un sens manifestement singulier.<sup>15</sup> Il en résulterait donc qu'on a deux fois עָטָרוֹת en face de deux fois עָטָרָה pour le singulier sur l'ensemble du Tanakh. On peut rattacher la forme à des mots tel que חכמות la Sagesse qui construit sa maison en Pr 9,1, חמות (belle mère) ou אחות (sœur).<sup>16</sup> Dominique Barthélemy suggère qu'en Job 31,36 le référent serait un "diadème", mettant en valeur l'acte d'accusation dont Job est prêt à se couronner.<sup>17</sup>

La philologie résout donc, sans contorsion, la difficulté. Si la difficulté est demeurée aux yeux des lecteurs jusqu'à aujourd'hui, c'est qu'il se trouve qu'il devrait y avoir un autre couronné qui ne l'est pas... Et de fait, dans un oracle où un grand prêtre est couronné alors même qu'un personnage de silhouette royale lui est annoncé, le lecteur peut être tenté de continuer à lire un pluriel au v. 11. En tout cas, il reste un peu surprenant qu'on ait choisi cette forme particulière עָטָרוֹת qui pouvait justement prêter à confusion. Mais si le couronnement du grand prêtre devait laisser présager, sans pouvoir le dire expressément, le couronnement à venir d'un personnage royal, alors le choix de cette forme, parfaitement correcte en soi pour le singulier, mais qui laissait entendre aussi le pluriel, était peut-être plus subtil qu'il n'y paraît. Il laissait une forme de promesse d'avenir royal sous le "chef" du grand prêtre.<sup>18</sup>

On le voit, un tel oracle laissait plusieurs choix de lecture, mais il était surtout très attractif pour qui voulait y lire une prophétie de l'histoire dans laquelle le rôle du grand prêtre et celui du prince étaient *provisoirement* fusionnés. Et l'on imagine sans peine la tentation, plusieurs siècles après le

<sup>14</sup> Dix-huit occurrences contre deux seulement pour l'état absolu עָטָרָה en Ez 21,31; Cant 3,11.

<sup>15</sup> D'autant que le pluriel n'est pas attesté comme tel dans le Tanakh. On ne trouve qu'un toponyme (Nb 32,3.34, Jos 16,2.5.7; 18,13 et 1 Ch 2,54) qui pourrait justement être un singulier.

<sup>16</sup> Par contre j'ai récusé cette valeur pour הוללות de Qoh 2,12 dans l'édition de *BHQ*.

<sup>17</sup> Ce cas est clairement exposé et traité par D. Barthélemy, *Critique textuelle de l'Ancien Testament*, vol. 3: *Ezéchiel, Daniel et les 12 Prophètes* (OBO 50/3; Fribourg: Editions universitaires; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1992), 963s.

<sup>18</sup> En ce sens Mason, "The Messiah," 348-349, au "courage" duquel (*exegetical bravery*) je me joins volontiers pour "tenir la place", malgré quelques réserves sur la "fonction royale" du grand prêtre. La position incontestable de Josué permettait de mettre tout à la fois en attente et en espérance la venue d'un personnage royal qui viendrait donner suite à Zerubbabel.

retour d'exil et les espérances qu'il avait fait naître, de trouver dans les prophéties anciennes une justification divine de ce surgissement national et religieux au 2<sup>e</sup> siècle, sous l'égide d'une famille de lévites occupant le trône du prince.

Une difficulté demeurait toutefois au cœur même de l'oracle pour opérer la fusion des deux rôles sur un seul homme. Il restait en effet à situer ce prêtre du v. 13 siégeant lui aussi sur un trône (M) ou à la droite (G) de celui qui revêtira la majesté et gouvernera sur son trône. Or le M présente une variante curieuse à propos de ce prêtre puisque, en l'absence dans le M de déterminant, on devrait lire: "et un prêtre siégera sur son trône," au lieu qu'on a dans le Grec "et le prêtre sera à sa droite."

### 3.2 *Un ou deux hommes à la tête de l'État?*

Voici les données en M et G:<sup>19</sup>

יְהוָה כֹּהֵן עַל־כִּסֵּאֵי M | καὶ ἔσται ὁ ἱερεὺς ἐκ δεξιῶν αὐτοῦ G

La première variante est l'absence de l'article devant le mot כֹּהֵן dans le M. On pense spontanément ici à une haplographie,<sup>20</sup> mais il faut dire:

- (a) si le copiste prononce intérieurement son texte, l'article devant un tel mot s'impose avec une certaine force.
- (b) l'absence de l'article crée une phrase à double sens immédiatement perceptible qui aurait poussé un copiste à s'assurer de l'exactitude de sa copie.

En effet, l'absence de l'article suggère qu'on peut lire le verbe יְהוָה à la suite des verbes précédents au sens où il serait régi par le même pronom personnel sujet du début du verset (יְהוָה). Dans ce cas, le mot כֹּהֵן devient une caractérisation de plus pour le même personnage. Non seulement il revêtira la majesté et siégera et gouvernera sur son trône mais aussi "et il sera prêtre sur son trône." Une faute de scribe reste possible bien entendu, mais elle n'est pas très probable.

Or la volonté de remanier le texte en ce sens apparaît, me semble-t-il, dans la seconde variante du syntagme:

יְהוָה עַל־כִּסֵּאֵי M | ἐκ δεξιῶν αὐτοῦ G

<sup>19</sup> Nous reviendrons plus bas sur le 'plus' du M au début du v. 13.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. A. B. Ehrlich, *Randglossen zur hebräischen Bibel*, vol. 5: *Ezechiel und die kleinen Propheten* (Leipzig: Hinrich, 1912), 338: "Der Artikel ist wegen des Vorherg. irrtümlich weggefallen."

L'éditeur de la *Biblia Hebraica Quinta*, Anthony Gelston, relève cette variante et la caractérise comme (lib), suggérant ainsi que le traducteur aurait usé de liberté dans sa traduction. D'après lui,<sup>21</sup> l'interprétation du traducteur de langue grecque "est probablement influencée par la difficulté de comprendre le texte." Il se trouve cependant que son texte avec l'article pour "le prêtre" ne présente pas de difficulté logique et qu'il aurait pu traduire "sur son trône" sans produire la confusion que l'on trouve dans le M. Si le traducteur est intervenu ici, ce n'est donc pas par difficulté de compréhension, mais éventuellement pour clarifier encore un peu plus la différence entre le Germe et le prêtre; le premier étant sur son trône et le second à sa droite. Cela est possible bien sûr. Mais il faut noter que le phrasé hébraïque s'accommode mieux de la forme attestée par G que de celle du M. En effet "être sur son trône" est une expression maladroite, qu'on ne trouve pas ailleurs dans la Bible hébraïque. Tandis que si l'on prend en considération la possibilité que le G reflète un modèle hébraïque (מִימִינוֹ),<sup>22</sup> il se trouve que la transformation en עַל-כִּסֵּאֵהוּ va dans le sens d'une assimilation du sacerdoce et du trône et soutient donc l'absence de l'article devant כֹהֵן.

Dans le M, c'est *sur son trône* qu'il siégera et gouvernera et *sur son trône* qu'il sera prêtre. Tandis que dans le G il y aura simplement un prêtre à sa droite.

M: "et il sera prêtre sur son trône"

G: "et le prêtre sera à sa droite"

Dans un Hébreu nettement moins élégant, comme je l'ai signalé plus haut, on peut aussi lire M ainsi: "et il y aura un prêtre sur son trône." Ce qui serait une autre manière de voir la fusion provisoire des deux fonctions.<sup>23</sup>

Si nous explorons le contexte nous découvrons que le 'plus' au début du v. 13 cherche aussi à fusionner les affaires du temple et la gouvernance politique.

### 3.3 C'est lui qui...

Au début du v. 13 le M présente un plus de cinq mots qui double la fin du v. 12.

M | > G יהוה יבנה את־היכל־יהוה

A première vue ce passage paraît relever de l'histoire de la transmission plus que d'un travail de type rédactionnel.

<sup>21</sup> A. Gelston, *The Twelve Minor Prophets* (BHQ 13; Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2010), 139\*.

<sup>22</sup> Suggestion d'Adrian Schenker lors de notre colloque.

<sup>23</sup> Ce qui sonne de manière un peu étrange, raison pour laquelle Ehrlich, *Randglossen*, 338, affirme: "Für כֹהֵן hat man unbedingt כֹהֵן zu lesen." Voir plus loin (3.5) la discussion des deux possibilités de lecture du M évoquées ci-dessus.

Ces mots du M en effet peuvent difficilement constituer une glose explicative, et l'on doit supposer soit un accident textuel justifiant son absence dans le texte source de G, soit un motif littéraire à l'apparition de ce *doublet*.

Un allègement de la part du traducteur de langue grecque de Zacharie est improbable. Il fait toujours effort pour préserver une traduction de son texte source. Au point que lorsqu'il ne comprend pas tout à fait la logique du texte, il fait tout pour en préserver la matière comme c'est le cas au v. 14.<sup>24</sup>

Du côté de l'accident textuel, on pense naturellement à une haplographie puisque les quatre derniers de ces cinq mots sont identiques et se suivent de la fin du v. 12 au début du v. 13.

Quant au motif littéraire d'un tel redoublement, il faut bien reconnaître que ces mots n'ajoutent quasiment rien *en eux-mêmes*, du strict point de vue de la *référentialité*. S'il y a donc un motif littéraire à ce doublet, il est à chercher plutôt du côté de la transformation qu'il impose à la lecture du contexte; spécialement des vv. 12-13.

Certes l'accident textuel était facile et ne peut être écarté. Mais si l'on admet un tel accident, il reste à trouver quel est le sens de cette répétition dans le texte *original* du passage. Ce qui signifie, comme nous le disions, observer la place qu'elle occupe et la lecture qu'elle suggère du fait de son placement.

Tout d'abord elle redouble la promesse de l'insigne honneur de "reconstruire le temple."<sup>25</sup> Un tel redoublement n'est pas du tout plat, dans le langage de la Bible *s'il permet d'explicitement ce qui vient d'être dit*.

La première occurrence donne de manière enveloppante une prédication, puis la phrase est répétée pour en déployer un *contenu*, une autre perspective, qui n'apparaissait pas encore. Ce procédé signale que la phrase ou expression n'a été répétée que pour être explicitée. On évite ainsi de lire la suite comme une donnée supplémentaire à ce qui vient d'être dit, et qui n'aurait pas été comprise à l'intérieur même de la phrase ou expression. Un bon exemple serait Gn 1,27:

וַיִּבְרָא אֱלֹהִים אֶת־הָאָדָם בְּצַלְמוֹ  
בְּצֶלֶם אֱלֹהִים בָּרָא אֹתוֹ  
זָכָר וּנְקֵבָה בָּרָא אֹתָם:

<sup>24</sup> C'est ainsi que, ne comprenant pas pourquoi cette couronne serait à plusieurs personnes à qui on a demandé la matière de la couronne (v. 10), le traducteur s'efforce d'y voir une allusion à ceux qui ont soutenu le projet de restauration et transforme cette couronne en un chant en leur honneur dans le sanctuaire (probablement qu'il pense à l'entrée du grand prêtre dans le sanctuaire muni de sa tiare). Voir la traduction en M. Casevitz, C. Dogniez et M. Harl, *Les Douze Prophètes: Agée – Zacharie* (La Bible d'Alexandrie 23/10-11; Paris: Cerf, 2007), 278.

<sup>25</sup> Cette phrase pouvait aisément être comprise par la suite comme "il fera des travaux dans le sanctuaire," voir ci après en 3.4.

La répétition dans le second stique permet d'affirmer un contenu qui est le soubassement, la substance de chair de ce qu'est l'image de Dieu, à savoir: "mâle et femelle."

Pour revenir à Za 6,12-13, ce qui suit la répétition et qui est censé déployer ce qui n'a pas été explicité à la fin du v. 12, c'est l'attribution du pouvoir du trône qui est ainsi présenté comme inhérent et contenu dans l'activité de "construction du temple." Avec les travaux du sanctuaire les prérogatives de l'autorité:

<sup>12</sup> et il construira le temple:

<sup>13</sup> et c'est *lui* qui construira le temple

et *lui* qui revêtera la majesté et siégera sur son trône.

L'insistance sur le pronom personnel que je suggère dans le premier stique du v. 13 vient de l'effet même du redoublement qui met tout l'accent sur cet élément qui est le seul élément variant de la répétition.

L'ajout du pronom personnel: יהוה יבנה trouve écho à la ligne suivante dans: יהוה יצא. Ce double "et c'est lui" peut aisément être compris comme ce qui va germer à la place du Germe au v. 12. Ce double "c'est lui qui" oriente le regard avec insistance vers un homme, un seul, alors même que l'on s'apprête à lire, toujours dans le M, qu'il "sera prêtre sur son trône" ou qu'il y "aura un prêtre sur son trône." Tout laisse penser qu'il s'agit de son trône à lui.

On peut estimer que l'interprétation que je donne ici du M est forcée et *elle l'est en partie!* Je le reconnais volontiers. Mais on ne le répètera jamais assez quant à ce niveau de travail d'édition du texte: il ne s'agit surtout pas dans l'esprit de l'éditeur de changer l'oracle antique, mais d'éclairer *ce qui s'y trouvait* et que l'histoire a fait apparaître. En Israël, Dieu parle dans les événements et c'est le rôle du scribe de faire *sortir* le nouveau contenu dans l'ancien.

### 3.4 Construire le temple ou rénover le sanctuaire?

Cet homme unique sur le trône que laissait mystérieusement présager l'oracle pour un avenir plus lointain, ne reconstruit pas nécessairement le temple. Au temps des Hasmonéens cela est déjà fait, mais il peut faire des travaux dans le sanctuaire. Un rapide regard au dictionnaire montre que בנה ne signifie pas toujours, loin s'en faut, construire sur nouveaux frais un édifice, mais tout aussi bien faire des travaux. On est aussi considéré "construire" lorsqu'on reconstruit, qu'on restaure ou qu'on élargit ou encore qu'on répare.<sup>26</sup> Il se trouve que ce sens est clairement attesté à la fin de l'oracle lui-même (M=G), au v. 15, où des רחוקים, des gens éloignés viendront "construire" dans le Sanctuaire du SEIGNEUR.

<sup>26</sup> BDB cite un certain nombre de lieux en ce sens.

Mais comme par hasard, là aussi, la forme textuelle du M rend plus facile cette lecture dans les vv. 12-13 en n'attestant pas le mot בֵּית qui évoquerait de gros travaux concernant l'ensemble du temple, mais הֵיכָל qui permet de penser à une partie intérieure du temple.

Or le Grec semble bien avoir lu dans son texte source le mot בֵּית et non הֵיכָל. En effet, pour une *Vorlage* הֵיכָל semblable au M, ce n'est pas le grec οἶκος que l'on attendrait ici mais ναός, car l'équivalence régulière dans le Grec des Douze est entre הֵיכָל et ναός, à la seule exception de Mi 1,2.<sup>27</sup> Dans les livres de Jérémie et Ezéchiel l'équivalence ναός vs. הֵיכָל est constante. L'ensemble que forment les Douze, Ezéchiel, Jérémie suit probablement en cela la traduction des Psaumes où הֵיכָל est toujours traduit ναός.<sup>28</sup> La grande exception dans tout cet ensemble est notre oracle de Za 6,12.14.15, alors même que plus loin, en Za 8,9 le terme ναός rend distinctement הֵיכָל immédiatement après בֵּית-יְהוָה rendu par οἶκος κυρίου, à l'instar des trois passages du Psautier où הֵיכָל et בֵּית apparaissent dans le même verset selon leur équivalence stable qui permet à ναός et οἶκος de refléter clairement la distinction entre הֵיכָל et בֵּית.<sup>29</sup>

A moins de trouver les motifs pour le traducteur de changer une équivalence aussi stable, la présomption est forte qu'il a trouvé dans son modèle hébraïque un oracle qui présentait trois fois le mot בֵּית (Za 6,12.14.15) plutôt que הֵיכָל qu'on trouve aujourd'hui quatre fois dans le texte massorétique – du fait du 'plus' du M au début du v. 13 qui suit. S'il y a eu effectivement un changement dans la transmission du texte hébraïque, il se trouve que la forme du M, qui permet de limiter les travaux à l'intérieur du temple, soutient l'interprétation que nous avons donnée des autres variantes de M dans ce passage.

<sup>27</sup> Am 8,3; Jl 4,5; Jon 2,5.8; Ha 2,20; Ag 2,15.18; Za 8,9; Ml 3,1. Pour l'exception de Mi 1,2 prenant place dans un avertissement lancé à tous les peuples alentour il se peut que οἶκος soit un choix du traducteur. C. Dogniez, "La reconstruction du temple selon la Septante de Zacharie," *VTSup* 109 (2006): 45-64, fait une confusion (48) dans sa lecture de Za 8,9 où la distinction est claire. Son étude illustre à plusieurs reprises le danger de traiter la Septante comme un monument de la culture hellénistique (ce qu'elle est bien sûr!) sans prendre en compte qu'elle est aussi la traduction d'un texte hébraïque et, à ce titre, le témoin d'un tel texte. Ainsi de l'affirmation suivante: "le mot ναός qui traduit majoritairement הֵיכָל [et] n'apparaît que tardivement dans la LXX; absent de l'Hexateuque, rare dans 1-2 Règles..." (48). La critique du texte observe de suite que cette "absence" et cette "rareté" du mot ναός sont tout simplement corrélatives à l'absence et la rareté du mot הֵיכָל, lequel est effectivement "absent de l'Hexateuque"... et "rare en 1-2 Samuel." Les rares fois où הֵיכָל apparaît en 1-2 Samuel, ναός apparaît dans la traduction grecque. Il faut attendre l'Isaïe grec dont la traduction est d'une toute autre nature, puis Daniel et les livres d'Esdras pour que cette équivalence הֵיכָל - ναός s'estompe. Il ne s'agit donc pas d'une "apparition tardive" dans l'histoire des traductions LXX, mais manifestement d'un choix volontaire d'employer ce mot pour distinguer la traduction de הֵיכָל et cela aussi loin que l'on puisse remonter dans la série des traductions Septante.

<sup>28</sup> Ps 5,8; 11,4; 18,7; 27,4; 29,9; 45,16; 48,10; 65,5; 68,30; 79,1; 138,2; 144,12 et il traduit une autre fois דְּבִיר en 28,2. Tandis que οἶκος est très régulier pour בֵּית.

<sup>29</sup> Ps 5,8; 27,4; 65,5.

Gardons à l'esprit le fait qu'il ne s'agit pas d'effacer un oracle vénérable et ancien, mais d'ouvrir une *possibilité de lecture* pour une agrégation du sacerdoce et du pouvoir politique. Ainsi, dans le M, celui qui viendra à la suite du Germe, "qui germera à sa place," exercera le sacerdoce tout en siégeant sur le trône et revêtant les insignes du pouvoir. Et il suffira qu'il ait fait des travaux dans le sanctuaire pour qu'il se trouve inclus, lui aussi, dans ce qu'annonçait la prophétie de Zacharie.

### 3.5 Un projet unifié entre les deux trônes

Dans les premières décennies de leur prise de pouvoir, les Hasmonéens se sont présentés – et probablement pensés – comme une *suppléance* à l'absence d'un Davidide sur le trône plutôt que comme une nouvelle dynastie appelée à se substituer à la lignée davidique. Il ne s'agissait pas pour eux d'effacer – comment l'auraient-ils pu? – de la mémoire judéenne la promesse dynastique envers la lignée de David. Il ne s'agissait donc pas non plus pour l'éditeur du texte dont nous pressentons le travail ici, de supprimer le trône royal en lui-même; surtout si l'édition du texte est le fait de scribes du milieu pharisien. L'essentiel était de montrer que la suppléance hasmonéenne pouvait être lue comme un moment de cette histoire prophétisée par Zacharie. Et c'est en ce sens que l'on peut comprendre l'entente parfaite "entre eux deux" à la fin du v. 13. La question qui surgit immédiatement dans l'esprit du lecteur est alors la suivante: comment cela est-il possible si, comme je le soutiens ici, il s'agissait de fondre les deux fonctions, sacerdotale et royale, dans la personne d'un seul homme de pouvoir?

Deux lectures sont possibles qui dépendent de celle que l'on choisira pour les mots qui précèdent dans le M.

- (a) Si l'on choisit de lire "et il y aura un prêtre sur son trône," il faut alors penser que les successeurs dynastiques sont d'accord pour qu'un prêtre exerce le pouvoir sur le trône pour le bien de la nation.
- (b) Si l'on choisit de lire "et il sera prêtre sur son trône," on peut penser alors que le pouvoir d'un seul homme qui est aussi prêtre sur son trône unifie les deux trônes, les deux fonctions suprêmes du gouvernement de Judah, dans un même projet (עֲצַת שְׁלוֹם).

Vu la finesse des retouches qui ne prétendent tirer du texte que *ce qui s'y trouve déjà* en germe, il faut comprendre que ce qui précède suffit.<sup>30</sup> La paix sera assurée non plus entre deux hommes, mais par la réunion des deux

<sup>30</sup> C'est la règle principale de toutes les retouches et rédactions des textes anciens faisant autorité. On peut voir comment les textes nouveaux ajoutés dans la version longue de Jérémie un ou deux siècles auparavant sont ainsi composés pour mettre en évidence que la promesse de la restauration royale restait valide et annoncée en même temps que le retour des vases du temple; cf. Goldman, *Prophétie et royauté*, 38-64, 168-188.



trônes sous un seul. Il faut noter en effet que le texte du M présente cet écho du trône du gouvernement au trône sacerdotal. Sans effacer le contrat de lecture qui fera mettre deux hommes sur deux trônes différents à l'auditeur du texte, cet écho du premier *עַל־כִּסֵּאוֹ* au second *עַל־כִּסֵּאוֹ* dans le M suggère en *surimpression* qu'il s'agit soit du même homme, soit du même trône. Relisons le v. 13 selon M:

Et il construira le sanctuaire du SEIGNEUR  
et il portera la majesté  
et il siégera et gouvernera  
sur son trône  
et il y aura un prêtre / et il sera prêtre  
sur son trône.

Le verset est suffisamment étrange en Hébreu pour que les traducteurs modernes aient trahi leur embarras. La *Bible de Jérusalem* et la *Luther Bibel* ont choisi de suivre le Grec et de placer le prêtre à la droite du gouvernant.<sup>31</sup> Tandis que la *Geneva Bible*, suivie comme presque toujours par la *King James*, a traduit ainsi le texte de M: “and he shall be a priest upon his throne.”<sup>32</sup> Ce qui est sans doute la meilleure compréhension de la phrase hébraïque dans sa forme présente.

La double lecture possible de cette phrase est bien dans le style de toutes ces retouches qui préservent le contenu de l'original tout en ouvrant la possibilité d'une lecture justifiant les événements historiques dans lesquels Dieu a toujours parlé pour Israël. On pourra comprendre, soit que la paix entre les deux trônes sera assurée par celui qui fera des travaux dans le sanctuaire et gouvernera en étant prêtre sur son trône. Soit que sur le trône du Germe surviendra un prêtre. Dans les deux cas, il y aura ainsi un accord entre les deux (*עָצַת שְׁלוֹמִים*) pour les projets d'avenir de la Judée.

Dans le premier cas la perspective est plus idéologique, plus générale: un seul homme unit les deux offices, créant un projet unifié entre les deux “trônes”.<sup>33</sup> Dans le second cas, un prêtre a surgi sur le trône du Germe pour assurer la suite du projet judéen en paix dans son projet avec la lignée davidique qui n'est toujours pas revenue sur le trône.

<sup>31</sup> *BJ*: “et il y aura un prêtre à sa droite”; *LB*: “Und ein Priester wird sein zu seiner Rechten.”

<sup>32</sup> De même la *NASB*.

<sup>33</sup> Boda, “Oil, Crowns and Thrones,” n. 45, éclaire bien le sujet en rappelant que si la préposition *עַל* peut unir aussi bien des objets que des personnes, on ne trouve avec le complément *עַל־כִּסֵּאוֹ* que deux autres exemples et il s'agit de personnes (Ex 22,10; 2 R 2,11). Cependant, vu le style de l'oracle tel qu'il se trouve présentement dans le M si on ne le corrige en aucun endroit, il reste évident que l'application aux deux trônes est possible et ne rencontre pas de règle syntaxique dirimante, quand bien même la formule peut résonner de façon curieuse.

#### 4. Un écho dans le M de Jérémie

A la fin de mon étude sur Jérémie j'avais suggéré que le rédacteur de la forme longue avait remanié le contre Yehoyakîn de Jr 22,24-30.<sup>34</sup> Cela en vue d'ouvrir une possibilité de lecture de l'oracle final du livre d'Aggée sur le sceau (Ag 2,23):

En ce jour-là – oracle du SEIGNEUR des armées –  
je te prendrai Zerubbabel fils de Shealtiel mon serviteur  
– oracle du SEIGNEUR –  
et je te placerai comme le sceau,  
car c'est toi que j'ai choisi – oracle du SEIGNEUR des armées.

J'ai commis à l'époque une erreur quant à la datation de la version longue attestée par le M de Jérémie. Du fait du lien insécable défendu dans le M de Jr entre la communauté du retour, les vases du temple revenus de Babylonie et la promesse dynastique, j'avais suggéré de dater cette forme littéraire du livre de l'époque même de la restauration (fin du 6<sup>e</sup> siècle). Or il apparaît à l'étude d'Aggée et Zacharie, aussi bien que dans les notices d'Ezra et Néhémie, que l'exercice effectif d'un pouvoir *royal* fondé sur la reconstruction du temple fait l'objet d'un tabou quand il est question de Zerubbabel. Ce qui signifie que la surveillance perse sur cette région administrative avait de solides relais, s'exerçant de façon assez stricte sur tout discours touchant à la politique en *Yehûd*. Ce fait oblige à rajeunir la date de la rédaction de M Jr bien après l'époque d'Aggée et Zacharie.

Il faut en outre joindre à ce trait, le fait que M Jr s'appuie en permanence sur un culte restauré et qui depuis longtemps n'est plus contesté. Un point qui m'avait déjà fait faire un premier pas en direction d'une datation plus récente dans un article de 2005.<sup>35</sup>

Or le long 'plus' du M en Jr 33,14-26 qui est le passage le plus incisif de défense de la dynastie davidique mentionne explicitement l'exercice de la royauté (Jr 33,20-21a):

<sup>20</sup> Ainsi parle le SEIGNEUR: Si vous renversez mon alliance du jour et mon alliance de nuit de sorte qu'il n'y ait plus le jour et la nuit en leur temps. <sup>21</sup>  
Alors sera renversée mon alliance avec David mon serviteur qu'il n'y ait pour lui un fils *régnant* sur son trône.

Ces deux versets trouvent en écho les vv. 25-26 qui reprennent le même argument:

<sup>34</sup> Goldman, *Prophétie et royauté*, 232-235.

<sup>35</sup> Y. Goldman, "Le SEIGNEUR est fidèle à son alliance. Continuité et rupture dans l'histoire d'Israël d'après la forme longue du livre de Jérémie (TM Jr 31,31-37; 17,1-4; 11,7-8)," in *L'enfance de la Bible hébraïque. Histoire du texte de l'Ancien Testament* (ed. A. Schenker et P. Hugo; Genève: Labor et Fides, 2005), 199-219, spéc. 217.

<sup>25</sup> Ainsi parle le SEIGNEUR: Si je n'ai pas établi mon alliance de jour-et-nuit, les lois du ciel et de la terre. <sup>26</sup> Alors je rejetterais aussi la race de Jacob et de David mon serviteur de prendre de sa descendance des *gouvernants* pour la descendance d'Abraham, d'Isaac et de Jacob *lorsque je ramènerai leur captivité* et que je leur ferai miséricorde.

Le participe "régnant" au v. 21 prépare le sens qu'il faudra donner aux mentions de "gouvernants" (משלים) de la "race de David" après *le retour de la captivité*.<sup>36</sup> Du coup, une datation à l'époque d'une stricte surveillance perse sur les affaires de la Judée paraît nettement trop haute. Il faut attendre une époque où cette surveillance a disparu ou s'est bien atténuée. Une réévaluation de la datation excéderait largement la visée de cet article.

Ce qui paraît plus intéressant pour la présente étude se trouve en Jr 33,21b. Je pense avoir montré autrefois, à la suite de Timo Veijola, que les vv. 21b et 22b $\beta$  représentent un ajout ultérieur d'une lourdeur de style peu explicable dans la composition plutôt bien structurée de l'ensemble de l'oracle.<sup>37</sup>

Or il est frappant que le v. 21b se greffe précisément sur la mention du trône de David:

mon alliance avec David mon serviteur qu'il y ait pour lui un fils *régnant* sur son trône *et les lévites cohanim mes serviteurs*.

Il est difficile de ne pas voir la correspondance entre cet ajout et la forme du M en Za 6,13:

- (a) Jr 33,21 Dieu promet qu'il gardera son engagement selon lequel il y aura *un descendant de la race de David "régnant sur son trône et [avec] les lévites cohanim..."*<sup>38</sup>
- (b) L'expression crée un texte aussi maladroit et ambivalent que le M de Za 6,13 "il siégera et gouvernera (משל) *sur son trône* et sera *un prêtre sur son trône...*"

La même tournure maladroite, articulée sur la même expression (על-כסאו), vise la même possibilité d'impliquer une famille sacerdotale dans la promesse divine envers le trône de David.<sup>39</sup> Là comme ailleurs on peut simple-

<sup>36</sup> Pour l'analyse détaillée de ce plus et de la façon dont il emploie les matériaux existants de Jérémie, voir Goldman, *Prophétie et royauté*, 12-21.

<sup>37</sup> Goldman, *Prophétie et royauté*, 27-28; T. Veijola, *Verheissung in der Krise*. Studien zur Literatur und Theologie der Exilszeit anhand des 89. Psalms (AASF-B 220; Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1982), 84-85 et n. 10.

<sup>38</sup> Qui sont aussi des serviteurs même si différemment (משרתי). Dans le sens de l'ajout ultérieur on notera que le renversement des deux désignations est unique dans la Bible contre 18 occurrences des *cohanim ha levi'im*... expression qui apparaît dans l'original de Jr 33 au v. 18.

<sup>39</sup> Nous sommes ici concernés par des retouches éditoriales de l'époque hasmonéenne et ce rapprochement ne préjuge pas de la chronologie entre M Jr 33,14-26 et Za 1-8. Cependant, au

ment lire l’alliance de Dieu avec David “et avec les lévites cohens mes serviteurs.” Mais la façon dont ce groupe de mots est adossé au trône permet là aussi d’envisager que l’alliance avec les “lévites cohens” les inclut dans l’alliance de Dieu avec David et ses successeurs sur le trône. Un autre trait vient souligner cela, puisque: הַלְוִיִּם הַכֹּהֲנִים est un *hapax legomenon* contre 18 occurrences des הַלְוִיִּם הַכֹּהֲנִים dans la Bible, l’une de ces occurrences se trouvant juste avant la nôtre en Jr 33,18.<sup>40</sup>

Si effectivement il s’agissait de placer dans la sphère du trône une catégorie de prêtres, on comprend qu’en choisissant au v. 21 la formule הַלְוִיִּם הַכֹּהֲנִים l’éditeur faisait d’une pierre deux coups. Il différenciait ces prêtres associés au trône de ceux du v. 18 où les כֹּהֲנֵי הַלְוִיִּם sont ceux qui font monter l’offrande et le sacrifice devant le SEIGNEUR et, par le biais de la mention gentile, il élargissait la classe des prêtres dont il était question dans cet oracle. Un tel élargissement faisait remonter cette catégorie de prêtres non à leur origine en tant que “cohens” – car l’origine des Hasmonéens est bien plus modeste que celle des Sadocides – mais à Lévi le premier de la tribu sacerdotale.<sup>41</sup>

Étant donné que l’expression הַלְוִיִּם הַכֹּהֲנִים est assez fréquente et parfaitement régulière, הַלְוִיִּם הַכֹּהֲנִים a très peu de chances d’être une erreur de scribe.

## 5. Conclusion

Certains traits propres à la forme massorétique de l’oracle sur le Germe de Za 6 ouvrent au lecteur ou à l’auditeur un appui pour le gouvernement des hasmonéens à Jérusalem. L’auteur de ces retouches ne vise pas à effacer l’ancienne prophétie qui représente dans les textes et la mémoire d’Israël un appui pour l’espérance et une référence qui fait autorité. Il vise seulement à montrer que les événements dans lesquels Dieu parle à son peuple, tout surprenants qu’ils soient, étaient bien contenus dans la prophétie. C’est pourquoi tous les traits particuliers qui sont de sa main peuvent être considérés comme déjà présents dans l’oracle ancien. Qu’il s’agisse d’interpréter וַיִּמְתְּקֵהוּ au sens de “à sa place,” du remplacement de בית par היכל, de la suppression d’un déterminant devant כהן(ה) ou du remplacement de “à sa droite” par “sur son trône,” chaque fois le mot nouveau peut être considéré comme présumé ou *contenu* dans l’original. Si toutefois nous avons vu

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regard de la mention explicite sur la royauté en Jr 33,21, Jr 33,14-26 paraît probablement postérieur à Zacharie.

<sup>40</sup> On a proposé soit de remettre les mots dans leur ordre habituel au v. 21, soit d’effacer purement et simplement le second de ces mots, cf. W. Rudolph, *Jeremia* (3e ed.; HAT 12; Tübingen: Mohr, 1968), 218.

<sup>41</sup> L’origine sacerdotale des Hasmonéens avec pour ancêtre Yoarib, est mentionnée en 1 M 2,1. Cette dernière remarque sur la référence à Lévi, m’a été communiquée par écrit par Adrian Schenker et je l’en remercie.

juste à propos de M Za 6,11-15.<sup>42</sup> Même l'usage de la forme en  $\pi$  pour la couronne de Josué pouvait être senti, nous l'avons dit, comme une allusion prophétique à la réunion provisoire des deux pouvoirs, religieux et royal, sous un seul chef, c'est le cas de le dire, celui du grand prêtre.

L'étude que nous avons menée ici pointe dans la même direction que nombre d'autres, à savoir un travail d'édition des livres prophétiques avec des visées politiques identifiables à l'époque hasmonéenne: la version grecque qui est antérieure à cette époque de quelques décennies préserve une forme plus ancienne de l'oracle. Si d'autres travaux sur le texte massorétique des premiers et derniers prophètes montraient des convergences avec cela, on serait en présence d'un moment charnière de l'histoire de la Bible. En ce sens il est frappant que l'approche globale de David Carr rejoigne des études de critique textuelle détaillées comme celles d'Adrian Schenker.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> Il serait intéressant de conduire une étude sur un ensemble de 'plus' du M pour affiner les principes qui régissent la transformation du texte biblique. Même au niveau d'une refonte aussi importante que M Jérémie, le rédacteur fait constamment sentir avec force que ce qu'il dit était bien ce qui se trouvait dans les textes antérieurs du livre de Jérémie. Voir en ce sens le réemploi de Jr 31 en Jr 33; Cf. Goldman, "Le SEIGNEUR est fidèle à son alliance," 203-208; ainsi que les excellentes études de P.-M. Bogaert citées là-bas.

<sup>43</sup> Voir D. M. Carr, *The Formation of the Hebrew Bible. A New Reconstruction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), ch. 5. Parmi les études d'Adrian Schenker, citons en une sur le sanctuaire: "Une nouvelle lumière sur l'architecture du temple grâce à la Septante?" *Annali di Scienze Religiose* 10 (2005): 139-154.

# MASORETIC TEXT AND SEPTUAGINT AS WITNESSES TO MALACHI 1:1 AND 3:22-24

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## 1. Introduction

The beginning and the end of biblical books often play a strategic role since they offer to the reader keys to understand the whole book. This has been long recognized for the book of Malachi. It is also at the beginning and at the end of this book that we have the opportunity to find echoes of scribal discussions and divergences in the history of the text. The end of this book is often seen as concerning the whole corpus of the *Nebiim*. It should be noted that despite the great attention given to these verses, they astonishingly are not studied in a book like the *Critique Textuelle de l'Ancien Testament*.<sup>1</sup>

Among the seven manuscripts of the Twelve Prophets from Qumran, two contain a fragmentary text of the book of Malachi: 4QXIIa (4Q76a), 4QXIIc (4Q78c). However, no manuscript contains Mal 1:1, and only 4QXIIa (4Q76a) of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century B.C.E contains Mal 3:22-24. Its text is in agreement with M despite the space between v. 23 and 24.<sup>2</sup> The text of Malachi is absent in the Hebrew manuscript from Wadi Murabaat (MurXII) and in the Greek text from Naḥal Ḥever (8HevXIIgr). Thus, the comparative study of textual witnesses in Mal 1:1 and 3:22-24 will concern especially the Masoretic Text (MT) and the Septuagint (LXX).

Scholars have already compared these witnesses and the majority prefer the version of MT as prior to that of LXX.<sup>3</sup> In this contribution, the opposite hypothesis is supported. It seems to me that for this discussion, some new elements should be considered.

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<sup>1</sup> See D. Barthélemy, *Critique textuelle de l'Ancien Testament*, vol. 3: *Ezéchiel, Daniel et les 12 Prophètes* (OBO 50/3; Fribourg: Editions universitaires; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1992), 1016-1038. The first case discussed is in Mal 1:3 and the last one is in Mal 3:9.

<sup>2</sup> E. Ulrich et al., *Qumran Cave 4.X: The Prophets* (DJD XV; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 228, Plate XLI, col IV.

<sup>3</sup> B. Glazier-McDonald, *Malachi: The Divine Messenger* (SBLDS 98; Atlanta, Ga.: Scholars Press, 1987), 268-269; A. E. Hill, *Malachi: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 25D; New York: Doubleday, 1998), 144, 366. Cf. the contribution of Thomas Römer in this book.

## 2. *Malachi 1:1*

Mal 1:1 functions as a superscription, which provides informations about the author and the orientation of the content of the book. The book of Malachi is a “massa” from God addressed to Israel.

The comparison between MT and LXX shows textual differences of such importance that one wonders what happened. Who is responsible for these textual differences and why?

MT	LXX
<p>מֵאֵל דְּבַר יְהוָה אֶל־יִשְׂרָאֵל בְּיָד מַלְאכִי: ---</p> <p>An oracle. The Word of the Lord to Israel by Malachi. (NRSV)</p>	<p>λήμμα λόγου κυρίου ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰσραὴλ ἐν χειρὶ ἀγγέλου αὐτοῦ --- ἰθέσθε δὴ ἐπὶ τὰς καρδίας ὑμῶν!</p> <p>An issue of the Lord's word to Israel by the hand of his messenger. Do place it upon your hearts. (NETS)</p>

### 2.1. *The Name of Malachi*

It is astonishing to see how quickly the problem of the name of the author of the twelfth book in the “minor” prophets corpus is solved. In my opinion, the issue is not so easy.

MT	LXX
<p>מַלְאכִי - Proper name: Malachi - Nickname or function: My angel / messenger ---</p>	<p>ἀγγέλου αὐτοῦ (= מַלְאכִי) --- --- - Function: His angel / messenger</p>

For a long time, the name Malachi was a subject of fierce debate among scholars. This name was not attested in any other biblical or non biblical source. Some scholars thought the name “Malachi” or “Malachiyah(u)” could not be given to a child, because no one can say “My messenger is the Lord.”<sup>4</sup> This discussion has been closed for more than three decades. An ostracon with the name “Malachi” (can it be “Malaki[yah]”?), and dated in the 7<sup>th</sup> century B.C.E, was found in the archaeological excavations at Tel Arad by Yohanan Aharoni.<sup>5</sup> Since then it can be asserted that Malachi could

<sup>4</sup> See the discussion in A. van Hoonacker, *Les douze petits prophètes: Traduits et commentés* (EBib; Paris: J. Gabalda, 1908), 704-705; Hill, *Malachi*, 16-17.

<sup>5</sup> Y. Aharoni, *Arad Inscriptions* (JDS; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1981), 109; J. Renz and W. Röllig, *Handbuch der althebräischen Epigraphik*, vol. 1/1: *Die Althebräischen*

be understood as a proper name.<sup>6</sup> This ostracon is the only epigraphic evidence of the name Malachi.



Ostrakon 97 from Tell Arad.

Malachi could be understood as a nickname as well. This is a broad view in the ancient rabbinic and Christian tradition where the name Malachi stands in place of a hidden name and is explained by its meaning, its function: “my messenger.” An apocryphal writing probably from the Jewish tradition,<sup>7</sup> *The Lives of the Prophets*, tells that “in his boyhood he lived a blameless life, and since all the people paid him honor for his piety and his mildness, they called him ‘Malachi’ (angel).” The Babylonian Talmud, *Meg.* 15a, refers to those who say Malachi is Ezra, or Mordecai, and the Reuchlinianus manuscript of the Targum reflects the same tradition: ספרא מלאכי דיתקרי שמייה עזרא (Malachi whose name is Ezra the scribe). Jerome, *In Malachiam prophetam ad Minervum et Alexandrum*, rejects the reading of LXX (his angel) and the interpretation of some origenists who assert that the prophecy was given by an angel who has taken a human body. Then Jerome quotes the mentioned discussion of the Jewish tradition: “According to the Hebrews, Malachi is Ezra the priest, because the content of his books is recalled by the prophet.”

If the Greek translator thought about a prophet with a hidden name referring to Ezra, LXX would be the most ancient witness to attest this tradition. However, this hypothesis supposes the reading of מלאכי as a nickname. Instead of that, the reading of LXX deals with something else, since ἀγγέλου αὐτοῦ (מלאכו) is neither the proper name nor the nickname of the prophet.

*Inschriften. Text und Kommentar* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1995), 305-306.

<sup>6</sup> According to the Babylonian Talmud, *Meg.* 15a, this is also the official position of the sages “the Sages say Malachi was his proper name.”

<sup>7</sup> See the discussion in I. Himbaza, “L’utilisation des traditions juives dans les Vies des Prophètes,” in *La littérature apocryphe chrétienne et les Ecritures juives* (ed. R. Gounelle and B. Mounier; Lausanne: Editions du Zèbre, forthcoming).



Actually, scholars assert that the Greek translator interpreted the reading of MT. According to Laurence Vianès in the recent French translation of Malachi, *La Bible d'Alexandrie*, the translator may have changed the suffix so that God appeared in the third person in this verse. This argumentation for stylistic reasons reflects the general view in the scholarship.<sup>8</sup>

It seems to me that stylistic reasons are not enough to explain the textual difference here. Indeed the Greek translator may have worked with a Hebrew *Vorlage* containing מלאכו. It is well known that in some manuscripts, it is difficult, if not impossible, to distinguish between *yod* and *waw*. Then if we imagine that the translator faced such a manuscript, the question would be: what would have led the translator to choose מלאכי instead of מלאכו?

To answer to these questions one would ask another triple question: Did the translator know about a Jewish tradition according to which

- a) this is a beginning of the twelfth prophetic book?
- b) this book has a known author?
- c) the author is called מלאכי?

If the translator could not answer to those questions, then, and only in that case, he would have been unable to decide which Hebrew reading to choose between מלאכי and מלאכו. Thus, the hypothesis of an unreadable manuscript is untenable.

I think rather that we are facing a serious problem dealing with what the translator understood when, if it is the case, he rendered מלאכי with ἀγγέλου αὐτοῦ.

How can one imagine what is called “The Twelve Prophets” or “The Book of the Twelve” for the translator? The question of the psycho-sociological profile of the translator, beside that of his translation technique, must be posed.

The translator is a Jew of the early 2<sup>nd</sup> century B.C.E, supposed to know Hebrew and at least Jewish traditions of this time. The translation of the Hebrew Bible in Greek has been in progress for many years and the same translator has already translated at least some other books of the Dodecaphetion.<sup>9</sup> The translation aims to facilitate the access to the Hebrew

<sup>8</sup> W. Rudolph, *Haggai-Sacharja-Maleachi* (KAT 13/4; Gütersloh: Mohn, 1976), 247; Hill, *Malachi*, 136; L. Vianès, *Les Douze Prophètes: Malachie* (La Bible d'Alexandrie 23/12; Paris: Cerf, 2011), 51.

<sup>9</sup> E. Tov suggested that the same translator may have translated not only the Twelve but also Jeremiah and Ezekiel. H. St. J. Thackeray thought the γγ section of Reigns is the work of the same translator. See the summary in P.-M. Bogaert, “Septante et versions grecques,” *DBSup* 12:536-692, esp. 633-634. However, the comparison between Jer 29:8-17 and Abd 1-9 in the LXX seems to show that these texts were translated by different translators. See M. Harl et al., *Les Douze Prophètes: Joël, Abdiou, Jonas, Naoum, Ambakoum, Sophonie* (La Bible d'Alexandrie 23/4-9; Paris: Cerf, 1999), 90-91. Thus the discussion on the identity of translators is not closed.

Scriptures. It seems that the *Nebiim* have gained an authoritative status at that time.

Why would the translator have rendered all other names of the prophets as proper names except here?

Consideration of all these questions leads to the conclusion that the supposed initiative of the translator to ignore the proper name of the twelfth prophet is too good to be true.

In general scholars qualify the translation of the Twelve as a faithful one, “un décalque presque mot pour mot” vis à vis its Hebrew *Vorlage*. This is true in the case of a relatively easy translation like Jonah or in a difficult text as Nahum. Cases of interpretations are also known for some books as in the translation of Habakkuk.<sup>10</sup> Long pluses (Hos 13:4; Hag 2:9.14) are then difficult to interpret. They are supposed to come from a different Hebrew text. To appreciate what happened in Mal 1:1, we consider two possibilities:

The first possibility is that LXX interprets the name Malachi in the same way as the relatively later Jewish tradition. In that case, the reading ἀγγέλου αὐτοῦ in LXX is also late. Then, either the translation of Malachi in LXX is late and the translator was not rigorous, or the reading ἀγγέλου αὐτοῦ is not the original reading in LXX, that is, it may have resulted from a later correction.

The second possibility is that LXX simply reflects its *Vorlage*. In that case, it reflects a situation where it was not, or not yet, clear whether this text was a “separate book” or whether it was written by a known “author.” The translator considered Malachi to be an anonymous text. Then, the reading of LXX is earlier than that of MT, which gives a proper name to the author. The combination of these two traditions may have influenced later interpretations that Malachi is Ezra the scribe or someone else. I favor this second possibility.

## 2.2. The “plus” of the Septuagint

It has been observed that “quantitative differences” between LXX and MT elsewhere in the Twelve resulted from assimilation to other passages of the same book or from a probable Hebrew *Vorlage* the translator used.<sup>11</sup> How should one appreciate the plus of LXX in Mal 1:1?

Θέσθε δὴ ἐπὶ τὰς καρδίας ὑμῶν  
Do place it upon your heart (NETS).

<sup>10</sup> See La Bible d’Alexandrie 23/4-9: 120 (Jonah), 174 (Nahum), 241-242 (Habakkuk).

<sup>11</sup> For Hos 2:9.14; 13:4, see E. Bons, J. Joosten, and S. Kessler, *Les Douze Prophètes: Osée* (La Bible d’Alexandrie 23/1; Paris: Cerf, 2002), 35-36. The link between Hos 8:13 and 9:3 may have been reinforced not by the translator but was already in its *Vorlage* (126). The development of Hos 13:4 in the LXX, which is lacking in MT, seems to be attested by the space of 4QIIc. Thus the translator may have seen it in its *Vorlage*. For Hag 2:14, see M. Casevitz, C. Dogniez, and M. Harl, *Les Douze Prophètes: Aggée, Zacharie* (La Bible d’Alexandrie 23/10-11; Paris: Cerf, 2007), 87-88.

This reading is not attested in any other textual witness. The Hebrew retroversion would read (על) לב(בכם) שימו (נא). This expression is found elsewhere in Malachi and Haggai in slightly different forms:

- Hag 1:5: τάξαιτε δὴ τὰς καρδίας ὑμῶν (= MT: שימו לבבכם).
- Hag 1:7: θέσθε τὰς καρδίας ὑμῶν (= MT: שימו לבבכם).
- Hag 2:15: θέσθε δὴ εἰς τὰς καρδίας ὑμῶν (= MT: שימו-נא לבבכם).
- Hag 2:18: ὑποτάξαιτε δὴ τὰς καρδίας ὑμῶν (= MT: שימו-נא לבבכם).
- Hag 2:18: θέσθε ἐν τὰς καρδίας ὑμῶν (= MT: שימו לבבכם).
- Mal 2:2: θῆσθε εἰς τὴν καρδίαν ὑμῶν (= MT: תשימו על-לב).
- Mal 2:2: τίθεσθε εἰς τὴν καρδίαν ὑμῶν (= MT: שמים על-לב).

In the other books outside the Twelve Prophets, the expression is well known as שים לב (Ezek 40:4; 44:5 2x) or שים על-לב (Isa 47:7; 57:1.11; Jer 12:11). To render this expression, Greek translators used different verbs (ἐκδέχομαι, νοέω, τάσσω, τίθημι, λαμβάνω) and prepositions (ἐν, εἰς or without preposition). The preposition ἐπὶ we have in Mal 1:1 is not attested elsewhere. It seems to reflect the presence of על in its Hebrew *Vorlage*, as it is the case in the occurrences of Isaiah, Jeremiah and Mal 2:2.

Thus, textually speaking, the plus of Mal 1:1 does not look like any other biblical occurrence. Instead, it seems that there is a widely known expression, which is rendered with some slight textual differences. The author of the book of Malachi would have simply known it and used it.

Centuries ago Jerome, who had a strong preference for MT, said this reading was added from Hag 2:15.

‘Ponite super corda vestra.’ Hoc in Hebraico non habetur, sed puto de Aggaeo additum, in quo legimus ‘Et nunc ponite super corda vestra a die hac et supra.’<sup>12</sup>

Many scholars continue to think so (BHS, BHQ, la Bible d’Alexandrie, and many commentaries) while the textual comparison shows it not the case.

Let us go through some considerations. First, the plus of LXX seems misplaced in the first verse while a parallel expression is known and well placed in Mal 2:2. If one surmises that this plus was added by the translator, then one should explain the goal of this addition.<sup>13</sup> In the context of Mal 1:1, this plus plays a parenthetic role. However, to introduce a parenthetic character to the text is not known as a translation technique in the Twelve.

Second, it has not been proved that the translator was responsible for adding a text from another book.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Jerome, *Commentariorum in Malachiam Prophetam* (ed. J.-P. Migne; PL 25), 1543-1544.

<sup>13</sup> Laurence Vianès does not take position on that question. See Vianès, *Malachie*, 102.

<sup>14</sup> The editors of Zechariah in the *Bible d’Alexandrie* considered that 10:1 “selon la saison, précoce et tardive” is harmonized with Deut 11:14 in Greek. See Casevitz, Dogniez, and Harl,

Third, we know that some parallel expressions are found both in Malachi and in other books within the Hebrew textual tradition:

- Mal 1:1 and Zech 12:1: מִשָּׁא דְּבַר־יְהוָה עַל־אֶל יִשְׂרָאֵל (An oracle. The word of the Lord to/concerning Israel).
- Mal 1:11 and Ezek 36:23: שְׁמִי הַגָּדוֹל or שְׁמִי הַגָּדוֹל שְׁמִי (my great name).
- Mal 1:11 and Pss 50:1; 113:3: מִמְּזֶרֶחַ שֶׁמֶשׁ וְעַד מְבֹאֵר (from the rising of the sun to its setting).
- Mal 1:14 and Pss 47:3; 95:3: מֶלֶךְ גָּדוֹל (great king).
- Mal 3:7 and Zech 1:3: שׁוּבוּ אֵלַי וְאֶשׁוּבָה אֲלֵיכֶם (return to me, and I will return to you).
- Mal 3:23 and Joel 3:4: לִפְנֵי בּוֹא יוֹם יְהוָה הַגָּדוֹל וְהַנּוֹרָא (before the great and terrible day of the Lord comes).

All these expressions sound like widely known slogans. They could have been used in Malachi without referring to any other book of the Bible.

Then, in the case of Mal 1:1, it is probable that the plus we know in LXX may come from a Hebrew text which contained it.

To think that the translator took the initiative of modifying the name of the author of the book and of adding such a “plus” in this verse supposes that he, once again, was not serious in his work. This description does not fit the profile of the translator as it is known, based on the rest of his translation.

Instead, it seems better to think that the translator found these words in the Hebrew *Vorlage* he used for the translation.

### 3. Malachi 3:22-24

This final passage of the book of Malachi is often considered as an appendix.<sup>15</sup> The differences between MT and LXX include the sequence of verses. This kind of difference is not found in another passage of the book of Malachi. Other textual differences are also of particular meaning even though scholars do not draw enough attention to them.

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*Agée-Zacharie*, 125. However, it is still not proved that this harmonization was made by the translator. This known expression, also used in Jer 5:24; Joel 2:23, may as well have been found in a Hebrew *Vorlage* of Zech 10:1.

<sup>15</sup> For the discussion see A. Meinhold, *Maleachi* (BKAT 14/8; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 2006), 403-408.

3.1. *Malachi 3:22 MT ≠ 3:24 LXX*

MT: Mal 3:22	LXX: Mal 3:24
<p>זָכְרוּ תוֹרַת מֹשֶׁה עַבְדִּי אֲשֶׁר צִוִּיתִי אוֹתוֹ בְּהָרֵב עַל-כָּל-יִשְׂרָאֵל חֻקִּים וּמִשְׁפָּטִים:</p> <p>Remember the teaching of my servant Moses, the statutes and ordinances that I commanded him at Horeb of all Israel. (NRSV)</p>	<p>μνησθητε νόμου Μωυση τοῦ δούλου μου καθότι ἐνετείλάμην αὐτῷ ἐν Χωρηβ πρὸς πάντα τὸν Ἰσραὴλ προστάγματα καὶ δικαιώματα.</p> <p>Remember the law of Moyses my slave, as I commanded him at Choreb with ordinances and statutes for all Israel. (NETS)</p>

The only question to be raised here is the placement of this verse. While in MT it follows v. 21 before the verses referring to Elijah, it is placed at the end of the book in LXX.

The text of 4QXII<sup>a</sup>, עשה אמר יהוה צבאות 22 זכרו תורת משה [ע]בדי, attests M's order of verses.

According to the majority of scholars, the translator of LXX transposed this verse to the end of the book for liturgical reasons. LXX would have put the verse concerning Moses at the end the book, in order to avoid that the book would finish with a negative word (חרם).<sup>16</sup>

To answer to these assertions, I would like to consider the following elements.

First, the relationship between vv. 19-21 and the paragraph of vv. 22-24 is often discussed. Vv. 19-21 about the day of the Lord are well followed by verses concerning Elijah the prophet.<sup>17</sup> Indeed, there is a literary evolution between the two passages, since vv. 23-24 concerning Elijah modify the destiny of Israel as a whole. The prophet is concerned by the preparation of the people before the day of the Lord. Thus the perspectives of salvation of the righteous and the condemnation of the wicked we have in vv. 19-21 are modified in vv. 22-24 because the judgement is henceforth preceded by the return (reconciliation, conversion) of the people through the prophet's action. Therefore, the insertion of the verse about Moses after v. 21 interrupts this literary evolution. As far as the order of MT is concerned, Mal 3:22 may have been inserted later for a reason, which has nothing to do with

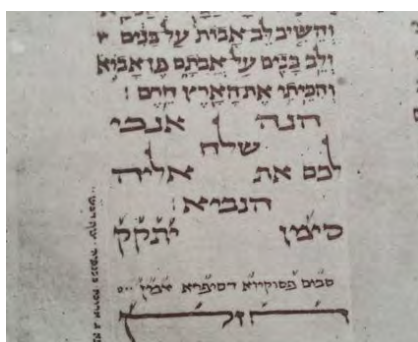
<sup>16</sup> J. M. P. Smith, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Malachi* (ICC; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1912), 83; Rudolph, *Haggai – Saccharja – Maleachi*, 290; R. L. Smith, *Micah-Malachi* (WBC 32; Waco, Tex.: Word Books Publisher, 1984), 340, 342; Hill, *Malachi*, 366.

<sup>17</sup> I. Himbaza, "La finale de Malachie sur Elie (Ml 3,23-24). Son influence sur le livre de Malachie et son impact sur la littérature postérieure," in *Un carrefour dans l'histoire de la Bible. Du texte à la théologie au II<sup>e</sup> siècle avant J.-C.* (ed. I. Himbaza and A. Schenker; OBO 233; Fribourg: Academic Press; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2007), 21-44.

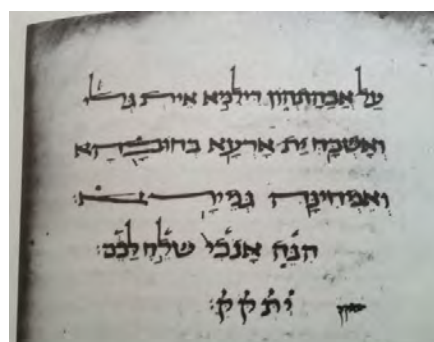
the preceding verses.<sup>18</sup> Thus the order of verses in LXX is more logical than that of MT.

Second, liturgical reasons are not convincing to explain the reading of LXX. Of course there is a Jewish liturgical tradition to repeat the next to the last verse in the books of Isaiah, Twelve Prophets (Malachi), Qohelet and Lamentations when these passages are read in the synagogue.<sup>19</sup> This tradition is well attested in some Hebrew manuscripts from the 10<sup>th</sup> century C.E. onward. Indeed, besides the next to the last verse rewritten at the end of the book, a Masoretic annotation, סימן יתקק, recalls this practice. In the case of Malachi, the verse concerned is always Mal 3:23 which concerns the sending of Elijah the prophet. One should make clear that this verse is always repeated, never transposed.

The following images show examples of Hebrew manuscripts in which the next to the last verse of Malachi is repeated, namely Ms Reuchlinianus and Parma Bible. The practice is ignored in the main Tiberian manuscripts such as Aleppo, Leningradensis and the Cairo Prophets.



Ms Reuchlinianus



Ms Parma Bible

Despite all this discussion in the Hebrew tradition, it should be recalled that the Greek manuscript tradition does not reflect this practice. Therefore, we have to admit that the reading of LXX is not dealing with this tradition.

<sup>18</sup> The call to remember the law of God transmitted by Moses, the servant of God (Mal 3:24) would have inserted in order to create an inclusion with Josh 1:7.13. For a recent bibliography see K. Schmid, "La formation des Nebiim. Quelques observations sur la genèse rédactionnelle et les profils théologiques de Josué-Malachie," in *Les recueils prophétiques de la Bible. Origines, milieux, et contexte proche-oriental* (ed. J.-D. Macchi et al.; Le Monde de la Bible 64; Genève: Labor et Fides, 2012), 115-142. Some scholars point out that the inclusion between Jos 1:1 and Mal 3:22 in M is lacking in G, since here the Minor Prophets are followed by the Major Prophets. See M. Müller and U. Schorn, "Malachias/Maleachi," in *Septuaginta Deutsch. Erläuterungen und Kommentare zum griechischen Alten Testament*, vol. 2: *Psalmen bis Daniel* (ed. M. Karrer and W. Kraus; Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibel Gesellschaft, 2011), 2475-2483. However, according to Emanuel Tov, the sequence of books in LXX seems secondary. See E. Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* (3<sup>rd</sup> rev. and enl. ed.; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2012), 129-131.

<sup>19</sup> See *Shulhan Arukh, Oraḥ Ḥayim* 693.4

Furthermore, no other example is found in the whole Hebrew Bible where a verse, which is not the next to the last, is repeated or transposed supposedly for liturgical reasons.

Third, it has been observed elsewhere in the Bible that different sequences of verses may reflect a period when the sections were not yet fixed “because of their secondary nature”. It is the case in Gen 31:46-48; Num 10:34-36; Jer 23:7-8.<sup>20</sup> In my opinion, one should include Mal 3:22-24 among such texts.

To summarize:

- (a) The liturgical tradition of repeating the next to the last verse is late. It is neither attested in the Dead Sea Scrolls nor in the ancient rabbinic tradition (Mishna, Talmud).
- (b) The liturgical tradition is dealing with the repeating of a verse, not with its transposition.
- (c) The verse repeated in the Hebrew liturgical tradition is a different verse from that discussed in this section.
- (d) LXX does not repeat a verse.
- (e) The Greek manuscript tradition is not concerned by this kind of liturgical considerations.
- (f) This question should not be linked with the translation of LXX.

I would say rather that literary considerations may have played a role in changing the order of the verses in M.

When comparing MT and LXX, I would say that LXX represents the earlier version.<sup>21</sup> The history of the Hebrew textual tradition of Mal 3:22 reflects two stages: In the first stage, the verse about Moses was added to the whole text of Malachi in order to create an inclusion with the beginning of the book of Joshua. LXX represents this stage. In the second stage, the same verse was replaced before those concerning Elijah. This replacement was made in order to keep the hierarchy and the chronology between Moses and the Torah on the one hand and Elijah and the *Nebiim* on the other hand. MT represents this second stage.

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<sup>20</sup> Tov, *Textual Criticism*, 309-310.

<sup>21</sup> B. A. Jones, *The Formation of the Book of the Twelve: A Study in Text and Canon* (SBLDS 149; Atlanta, Ga.: Scholar Press, 1995), 236-237; R. Kessler, “The Unity of Malachi and Its Relation to the Book of the Twelve,” in *Perspectives on the Formation of the Book of the Twelve* (ed. R. Albertz, J. D. Nogalski, and J. Wöhrle; BZAW 433; Berlin/Boston: de Gruyter, 2012), 223-236. Some other scholars sympathize with the same idea: Meinhold, *Maleachi*, 409; I. Willi-Plein, *Haggai, Sacharja, Maleachi* (ZBK.AT 24/4; Zurich: Theologischer Verlag Zürich, 2007), 282, 286.

3.2. *Malachi 3:23-24 MT // 3:22-23 LXX*

As is also the case for Mal 1:1, these verses contain so important textual divergences between MT and LXX that they deserve particular attention in the study of the history of the text.

MT: Mal 3:23-24	LXX: Mal 3:22-23
<p>הִנֵּה אֶנְכִּי שֹׁלֵחַ לְךָ 23  אֶת אֱלִיָּה הַתְּשִׁבִּי  לִפְנֵי בֹא יְיָ הֵן הִזָּה  הַגָּדוֹל וְהַנִּירָא:  וְהַשִּׁיב 24  לְבָבוֹת עַל-בָּנִים  וְלִב בָּנִים  עַל-אֲבוֹתָם  פֶּן-אֲבֹא וְהִכִּיתִי אֶת-הָאָרֶץ חֵרֶם:</p>	<p>22 καὶ ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ἀποστέλλω ὑμῖν Ἡλιαν  τὸν Θεσβίτην  πρὶν ἔλθεῖν ἡμέραν κυρίου  τὴν μεγάλην καὶ ἐπιφανῇ  23 ὃς ἀποκαταστήσει  καρδίαν πατρὸς πρὸς υἱὸν  καὶ καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου  πρὸς τὸν πλησίον αὐτοῦ  μὴ ἔλθω καὶ πατάξω τὴν γῆν ἄρδην.</p>
<p>23 Lo, I will send you the prophet  Elijah before the great and terrible day  of the Lord comes.  24 He will turn the hearts of parents to  their children and the hearts of children  to their parents, so that I will not come  and strike the land with a curse.  (NRSV)</p>	<p>22 And behold I am sending to you  Elias the Thesbite before the great and  notable day of the Lord comes,  23 who will restore the heart of the  father to the son and the heart of a  person to his neighbor so that I will not  come and utterly strike the land.  (NETS)</p>

3.2.1. *Elijah the Prophet (MT) ≠ the Thesbite (LXX)*

MT and LXX differ on the title given to Elijah. With regard to the text of Malachi, one cannot decide which text is the earliest, since the context does not provide enough elements to support one or the other option. The rest of the Hebrew and Greek Bible text may help us to understand what may have happened.

References	MT	LXX
1 Kgs 17:1	אליהו התשבי Elijah the Thesbite	Ἡλίου ὁ προφήτης ὁ Θεσβίτης Elijah the prophet the Thesbite
1 Kgs 18:36	אליהו הנביא Elijah the prophet	Ἡλίου Elijah
1 Kgs 21:17	אליהו התשבי Elijah the Thesbite	Ἡλίου τὸν Θεσβίτην (20:17) Elijah the Thesbite
1 Kgs 21:28	אליהו התשבי Elijah the Thesbite	Ἡλίου (20:28) Elijah
2 Kgs 1:3	אליה התשבי Elijah the Thesbite	Ἡλίου τὸν Θεσβίτην Elijah the Thesbite
2 Kgs 1:8	אליה התשבי Elijah the Thesbite	Ἡλίου ὁ Θεσβίτης Elijah the Thesbite



2 Kgs 9:36	אליהו התשבִי Elijah the Thesbite	Ἡλίου τοῦ Θεσβίτου Elijah the Thesbite
Mal 3:23	אליה הנביא Elijah the prophet	Ἡλίαν τὸν Θεσβίτην (3:22) Elijah the Thesbite
2 Chr 21:12	אליהו הנביא Elijah the prophet	Ἡλίου τοῦ προφήτου Elijah the prophet

A comparison between MT and LXX leads to the following observations:

- The title “Thesbite” seems to be the natural (most frequent) title of Elijah, both in Hebrew and Greek tradition.
- The word “prophet” is neither frequent nor sure, except in 2 Chronicles.
- MT contains more occurrences of the word הנביא (the prophet) than LXX.
- While in MT Elijah appears always with a title, twice in LXX he appears without any title.
- The title “prophet” in 3 Kgdms 17:1 (LXX) is secondary.

On the one hand, MT may reflect the tendency to introduce more occurrences of the word “prophet” (נביא). On the other hand, this phenomenon is also known to LXX (3 Kgdms 17:1).

It seems that observations of other verses concerning Elijah are still not enough to decide what happened. However, when one enlarges the field of investigation to the texts containing the word “prophet” or to other textual witnesses, the situation is quite clear.

The increasing of the occurrences of the word נביא (prophet) for instance in the M of Jeremiah is well known (cf. Jer 29:29 // 36:29LXX; 32:2 // 39:2LXX; 34:6 // 41:6LXX; 36:8 // 43:8LXX; 36:26 // 43:26LXX, etc.). The case of Jeremiah is significant since he is never qualified as “prophet” in the Greek version of his book, while the expression “Jeremiah the prophet” occurs frequently in MT. A similar phenomenon is observed for words צבאות (of hosts), also in Jeremiah, and כהן (priest) (1 Kgs 4:2.5; Isa 8:2). LXX may reflect the text before the increasing of the occurrences of the word “prophet” in these passages. It should be remembered however that to a lesser extent, the increasing of the occurrences of those words is also found in LXX.

When comparing M and the Targum, one observes a supplementary tendency to increase the occurrences of the word “prophet” in the Targum. For instance, “Man of God” of 1 Kgs 17:18 is rendered with “prophet of God.”

The historical textual evolution would have followed this order: LXX → MT → Targum.

Thus, for Mal 3:23 (3:22LXX), either LXX may have been influenced by the actual title used for Elijah,<sup>22</sup> or MT may have enhanced the apocalyptic figure of Elijah as a prophet.<sup>23</sup> I favor this second option.

<sup>22</sup> Hill, *Malachi*, 376.

<sup>23</sup> Concerning the consideration of Mal 3:23-24 as an apocalyptic text, see I. Himbaza, “Malachie parmi les prophètes. Témoin d’une longue histoire de la rédaction et de l’évolution textuelle,” in

### 3.2.2. Did the translator of LXX render well the Hebrew והשיב?

In her commentary on Malachi, Beth Glazier-McDonald asserts that the reading of LXX, ἀποκαταστήσει, is an interpretation. According to her, the Greek reading does not mean “to turn” as one should understand the Hebrew והשיב, but “to restore.”<sup>24</sup>

We are facing a philological issue here. First, let us observe that the context of Mal 3:24 does not help the reader to solve the problem. Then, one should observe how this Hebrew verb is rendered in Greek elsewhere in the Bible. It appears that the most frequent Greek verb to render the Hebrew שׁוּב *hiphil* is ἀποστρέφω or ἐπιστρέφω. However, many other occurrences are known where Greek translators used ἀποκαθίστημι - ἀποκαθιστάνω to render the Hebrew שׁוּב, both in *qal* and in *hiphil* form. The contexts of those passages may lead to the meanings: “to restore” (Exod 4:7; Lev 13:16; Ezek 16:55; Ps 35[34LXX]:17; Job 33:25) or “to (re)turn – to lead back” (Gen 29:3; Exod 14:26; Num 35:25; Jer 24:6). Thus ἀποκαθίστημι is not limited to the special meaning “to restore.”

In *De Decalogo* 164, Philo of Alexandria has also used the “Greek” ἀποκατάστασις to refer to the restitution of properties during the jubilee year. It seems that Philo was paraphrasing Lev 25:13 (בשנת היובל הזאת תשובו) איש אל אחוזו: In this year of Jubilee, you shall return, every one of you, to your property) and that he understood a “returning” not a “restoration.”

Therefore, in Mal 3:24(23LXX) ἀποκαταστήσει renders well its Hebrew *Vorlage* והשיב. One should not underline a possible different meaning between MT and LXX in this verse.

### 3.2.3. Does Ben Sira 48:10 reflect an interpretative reading from LXX of Malachi 3:24(23LXX)?

In the same book, Glazier-McDonald asserts that the interpretative reading of LXX may have influenced Ben Sira. When Ben Sira praised Elijah, he may have used both reading of M and its interpretation of LXX. This may explain why in Ben Sira one finds two different verbs והשיב and הכין.<sup>25</sup> First of all, let us recall the textual tradition of Ben Sira:

Hebrew (Ms B)

להשיב לב אבות על בנים ולהכין ש[בטי ישראל]ל

To turn the heart of fathers to the sons and to restore the tr[ibes of Israel].

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*Les recueils prophétiques de la Bible. Origines, milieux, et contexte proche-oriental* (ed. J.-D. Macchi et al.; Le Monde de la Bible 64; Genève: Labor et Fides, 2012), 435-461, esp. 444-445.

<sup>24</sup> Glazier-McDonald, *Malachi*, 268.

<sup>25</sup> Glazier-McDonald, *Malachi*, 268-269.

## Septuagint

ἐπιστρέψαι καρδίαν πατρός πρὸς υἱὸν καὶ καταστήσαι φυλὰς Ἰακωβ  
To turn the heart of a father to a son and to restore the tribes of Jacob.

## Vetus Latina and Vulgate

*Conciliare cor patris ad filium et restituere tribus Iacob*  
To reconcile the heart of the father to the son and to restore the tribes of Jacob.

## Peshitta

ܠܬܘܪܢ ܒܢܝ ܕܥܝܠܐ ܕܥܡܝܢܐ ܕܝܫܪܐܝܝܠ ܕܝܫܪܐܝܝܠ

To turn sons to fathers and to evangelize ther tribes of Jacob.<sup>26</sup>

It is now accepted among scholarship that in the beginning of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century B.C.E, Sir 48:10 combined Mal 3:24 and Isa 49:6. He did not add to the Hebrew a hypothetical interpretation of LXX. The Elijah *redivivus* of Ben Sira wears also the mantle of the servant of the Lord.

For the first part of the verse (citation of Malachi), it is interesting to observe that the Hebrew text of Ben Sira is in agreement with MT, while his Greek text is in agreement with LXX! Thus, we cannot say with a high degree of certainty that Ben Sira read a singular or a plural form of the text of Malachi. The one or the other text of Ben Sira may have been corrected in order to be in agreement with the Hebrew or the Greek text henceforth considered as “received.”

The second part of the verse (citation of Isaiah) presents two textual problems. The first one concerns the verb used, while the second one is dealing with the complement “tribes of Jacob” and “tribes of Israel.” Both readings are attested in the Hebrew witnesses.

## Isa 49:6aβ

MT: להקים את־שבטי יעקב  
1QIsa<sup>a</sup>: להקים את שבטי ישראל  
1QIsa<sup>b</sup>: להשׁיב את שבטי יעקב  
1QIsa<sup>d</sup>: להקים את

However, since the Hebrew Ben Sira uses the verb להכין instead of להקים, it may be considered as containing a secondary reading here. The reading of Ben Sira may have resulted either from a confusion of nearly homophonous verbs which are also close in meaning, or from an interpretation of the mission of the servant of the Lord. All these textual divergences make clear that

<sup>26</sup> For this interpretative reading “evangelize,” see W. van Peursen, “Que vive celui qui fait vivre: Le texte syriaque du Siracide 48:10-12,” in *L'enfance de la Bible hébraïque. L'histoire du texte de l'Ancien Testament à la lumière des recherches récentes*, (ed. A. Schenker and P. Hugo; Le Monde de la Bible 52; Genève: Labor et Fides, 2005), 286-301.

during the Hellenistic and Roman period, the mission of the servant of the Lord, or other protagonists to come, was a subject of fierce debates.

To summarize:

- (a) Contra Glazier-McDonald, Ben Sira combines two different texts of Malachi and Isaiah. He does not give side by side two different interpretations of the same verb *השיב* of Malachi, supposed to come from MT and LXX.
- (b) The combination of different texts attested in Ben Sira is not found in LXX of Malachi.
- (c) To appreciate the value of LXX of Malachi, one should not refer to Ben Sira.

### 3.2.4. *The heart of the fathers (MT) ≠ the heart of the father (LXX).*

MT: Mal 3:24	LXX: Mal 3:23
<p>לְבָבוֹת עַל-בָּנִים וְלֵב בָּנִים עַל-אֲבוֹתָם</p> <p>The hearts of parents to their children and the hearts of children to their parents. (NRSV)</p>	<p>καρδίαν πατρός πρὸς υἱὸν καὶ καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου πρὸς τὸν πλησίον αὐτοῦ</p> <p>A Hebrew text underlying LXX would have been: לֵב אָב עַל בֶּן וְלֵב אִישׁ עַל רֵעֵהוּ.</p> <p>The heart of the father to the son and the heart of a person to his neighbor. (NETS)</p>

In my opinion, literary reasons explain these textual differences. Thus the task here is to explain whether and how one of these two readings came from the other.

### *Mal 3:24aa*

Let's begin with two recent publications, which have enabled this subject to go a step further.

The first publication is that of Elie Assis.<sup>27</sup> According to him, the word *אבות* (fathers) represents God, even though it is in plural form. In that case, the prophet's act of reconciliation/conversion may concern God and his people. The topic of reconciliation between God as a father and his people as a son is very interesting in the context of Malachi, since according to Mal 1:6; 2:10 and 3:7 this reconciliation is explicitly needed. The problem with Assis's point is that there is no example where God is referred to as "fathers" in a plural form (words like "Elohim" and "Adonim" are not questioned here). As far as the word *אבות* is concerned, it refers to human beings and

<sup>27</sup> E. Assis, "Moses, Elijah and the Messianic Hope. A New Reading of Malachi 3,22-24," *ZAW* 123 (2011): 207-220, esp. 212-213.

especially to the ancient generations (cf. Mal 2:10; 3:7). Mal 2:10 identifies well אב as God and אבות as human beings. Unfortunately, Assis does not discuss the reading of LXX, in Mal 3:24(23LXX), which reflects a singular form: אב. LXX would have given him a good solution. Assis tried to solve the literary side of the problem but not the textual one. Thus I would agree with him if the reading in which God is referred to was the singular form of LXX.

The second publication is that of Laurence Vianès.<sup>28</sup> According to her, the reading of LXX, which is considered as secondary, may have wanted to imply that the singular “father” was God. The translator may have modified the text, from the plural form to the singular form, in order to recall the references of Mal 1:6 and 2:10. However, Vianès did not explain why the translator would have modified the second part of the assertion and why he would have modified it in the way he did. Vianès tried to solve both literary and textual sides of the same problem, but I think she went the wrong way.

Nevertheless, these two publications put out an important element, namely that God is referred to in this verse through the word אבות (fathers = MT) or preferably πατὴρ - אב (father = LXX).

From there we need another step to give an answer to the difficulties each publication did not solve. If one considers that the earliest version is that of LXX while the reading of MT reflect a literary evolution, one would explain this evolution as follows:

- In the first stage, which is itself a later insertion, the Hebrew text (represented now by LXX) contained אב in the singular form and was understood as referring to the reconciliation between God and his people on the one hand and men among themselves on the other hand. The need for reconciliation amongst the people is found in Mal 2:10. The understanding of the father and the son as referring to God and his people is attested in the two first chapters: Mal 1:6 (if I am a father where is the honor due me?) and 2:10 (have we not all one father?). The need for their reconciliation is attested in the third chapter, Mal 3:7: שובו אלי ואשובה אליכם (return to me, and I will return to you). The same context is reflected in 3:17. Mal 3:24(23LXX) would have been understood in the same way. This double reconciliation (השיב: act of returning) should be done by Elijah *redivivus*. The text is focused on this figure to come as an instrument, the messenger of God. LXX represents this stage.
- In the second stage, when the anthropomorphism of God was questioned and the respect for the sovereignty of God increased,<sup>29</sup> the idea that a

<sup>28</sup> Vianès, *Malachie*, 165.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. D. Barthélemy, “Les Tiquuné Sopherim et la critique textuelle de l’Ancien Testament,” in *Etudes d’histoire du texte de l’Ancien Testament* (ed. D. Barthélemy; OBO 21; Fribourg: Editions universitaires; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1978), 91-110; C. McCarthy, *The Tiquuné Sopherim and Other Theological Corrections in the Masoretic Text of the Old*

human being, even a prophet, can “turn,” “lead back” or “convert” the heart of God was no longer acceptable. This was especially true since the verb הָשִׁיב used in Mal 2:6 was understood as converting the people from iniquity. Even Mal 3:7 is understood in the same context.<sup>30</sup> Thus, the inner intertextual reading may have played a role in changing the earliest Hebrew text of Mal 3:24aα represented now by LXX.

The solution was a modification of the Hebrew text from the singular to the plural form. In that case, the singular form אב (father) referring to God became the plural form אבות (fathers) referring to human beings. Fathers would be reconciled with the sons. This correction was made to avoid the idea that the heart of God could be “turned” by a prophet. MT represents this stage. Thus we have to talk about a textual modification for literary motives.

#### *Mal 3:24aβ*

Since the first part of the assertion was now limited to human fathers, the second part had also to be modified in order to reflect the reciprocity between different generations. Children would also be turned to their fathers. It is difficult to imagine that a translator would have changed such a good parallelism. In my opinion, it is better to think that the parallelism was created in a second stage, from a text, which did not contain it before.

The fathers referred to may be those of the generation of Levi, when the covenant was kept (Mal 2:4-10). The verb הָשִׁיב establishes a parallelism between the two positive protagonists of the book: Levi and Elijah (2:6; 3:24). Both are understood as messengers of the Lord (2:7; the verb שלח in 3:1 and 3:24 helps to identify the messenger with Elijah). Thus the Elijah *redivivus* may function as a new Levi. In that case, the sons would correspond to the present generations, the addressees of the book. This hypothesis is suggested by the possessive pronoun used in the word אבותם (their fathers), which recalls that of 2:10 אבותינו (our fathers). However, there is another reflection in Mal 3:7 according to which the fathers (אבותיכם: your fathers) did not keep the ordinances of the Lord. In that case, fathers and sons of Mal 3:24 may represent all the people living in the same period.

Rabbinic tradition reflects interesting discussions on the mission of Elijah *redivivus*. It is not impossible that his mission was discussed at the earliest stage of the evolution of the Hebrew text of Mal 3:24.

If LXX represents the earliest text in Mal 3:24, it points to a Hebrew text which looked like ואיש על רעהו or ואיש אל רעהו. This reading is parallel to Mal 3:16, according to 4QXII<sup>a</sup> on the one hand and to Aleppo Codex and the

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*Testament* (OBO 36; Freiburg Schweiz: Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1981).

<sup>30</sup> See Zech 1:3

Cairo Codex of the Prophets on the other hand.<sup>31</sup> It is this text that was changed into בנים על אבותם we read in MT.

The reconciliation needed between God and his people on the one hand (Mal 3:7) and people among themselves on the other hand (Mal 2:10) was announced in Mal 3:23LXX. Later, it became a reconciliation only between generations of human beings in MT of Mal 3:24. Thus according to MT, the action of Elijah the prophet shall concern the people of God, it shall not affect God himself.

This is the way one can understand how LXX reflects the text as it was before the concern about anthropomorphism of God led to the modifications we have in MT.

#### 4. Conclusion

As it has been shown, we need both literary and textual approaches to understand and try to solve the questions raised by the text of Malachi, especially at its beginning and its end.

One witness like MT does not reflect all the textual aspects of the book of Malachi. It is then not enough to be taken as the only base for the discussion about the textual and literary questions of that book.

When comparing MT and LXX of the beginning and the end of the book of Malachi, I reach the conclusion that in Mal 1:1 and 3:22-24, MT represents a modified edition of the one represented by LXX. It should be remembered, however that in other cases, LXX contains also secondary readings. The estimation of the priority is not always in the one direction.

The balance of esteem and recognition of biblical texts changed over time. In the cases of the texts of Malachi studied here, it went from the *Vorlage* of LXX to the Proto-Masoretic text.

A general observation of the texts of Malachi studied here gives the impression that LXX reflects a not yet achieved literary project rather than a modification of a well finished and formulated text reflected in MT.

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<sup>31</sup> While the reading of the Leningrad Codex in Mal 3:16 is איש את רעהו.

# THE BOOK OF JEREMIAH IN THE HEBREW AND GREEK TEXTS OF BEN SIRA

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The question of textual multiplicity addressed in this volume can be approached from different perspectives. I have engaged elsewhere with the Qumran library and its textual plurality in great detail and do not want to repeat my earlier study.<sup>2</sup> Next to the Qumran manuscripts, the Samaritan Pentateuch, and the Old Greek texts of the books collected in the Septuagint today, quotations of and allusions to the Jewish scriptures in Second Temple Jewish literature are the only preserved evidence for their textual history in this period. These quotations and allusions provide precious spotlights into what still remains a relatively dark age in the textual history of the Hebrew Bible.

In this article, I want to inquire into how far intertextual references to the Book of Jeremiah in the Hebrew and Greek texts of Ben Sira help to illuminate both the early textual history of Jeremiah and the question of textual multiplicity in the Second Temple period. Such an investigation bears particular promise because Ben Sira himself (Sir 33[36]:16-18; 38:34-39:3) and his grandson (prologue 1-14) emphasize Ben Sira's extensive use of the Jewish scriptures and because the grandson hints in the prologue to his translation to an awareness of differences between the Old Greek translations of Jewish scriptures and their Hebrew parent texts (prologue 21-28).

And not only in this case, but also in the case of the Law itself and the Prophets and the rest of the books the difference is not small when these are expressed in their own language. (prologue 23-26)<sup>3</sup>

To explore the evidence provided by the intertextual references to Jeremiah in Ben Sira, I will discuss how I classify quotations and allusions and how

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<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to my friend and colleague Russel E. Fuller for many discussions about the text-critical value of Ben Sira's intertextual references as well as for improving the English of this article. All remaining mistakes are of course mine.

<sup>2</sup> A. Lange, *Handbuch der Textfunde vom Toten Meer*, vol. 1: *Die Handschriften biblischer Bücher von Qumran und den anderen Fundorten* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009).

<sup>3</sup> Translation according to B. G. Wright, "Sirach," in *A New English Translation of the Septuagint* (ed. A. Pietersma and B. G. Wright; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 715-762, 719.



these quotations and allusions have been identified. Afterwards I will describe the textual witnesses of the books of Jeremiah and Ben Sira. After these prolegomena I will look separately at the text of Jeremiah used by Ben Sira himself and how this Jeremiah text was rendered by his grandson. In the end of my article I will draw some conclusions and engage with the issue of textual plurality in the Second Temple period.

### 1. *The Identification and Classification of Quotations and Allusions*

The Jeremiah quotations and allusions discussed in this article were identified as part of the research project “Ancient Jewish Quotations and Allusions” which was undertaken at the Vienna University’s Institute for Jewish Studies by Matthias Weigold and myself and which was supported by a grant of the *Jubiläumsfonds* of the Austrian National Bank.<sup>4</sup> In the Vienna research project, we employed the search capabilities of Oaktree’s Accordance software for the identification of quotations and allusions but included earlier identifications in scholarly literature as well.<sup>5</sup> Different from previous publications, we disregarded in our search for quotations and allusions formulaic and idiomatic language and focused only on verbal parallels between two texts.

In general, explicit and implicit uses of Jewish scriptures need to be distinguished.<sup>6</sup> Explicit uses disclose the text they refer to or employ. Such explicit uses of Jewish scriptures include the explicit quotation identified with a quotation formula or another marked reference, the explicit reference without a quotation, the explicit allusion, and the continuous commentary on a given book of the Jewish scriptures (e.g. the commentary of selected psalm verses in the *Midrash on Eschatology*).<sup>7</sup> This means, explicit uses of the

<sup>4</sup> The results of this research project are published in A. Lange and M. Weigold, *Biblical Quotations and Allusions in Second Temple Jewish Literature* (Journal of Ancient Judaism Supplements 5; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011).

<sup>5</sup> For details, see Lange and Weigold, *Biblical Quotations*, 15-19.

<sup>6</sup> For the distinction between implicit and explicit uses of scriptures see already J. Carmignac, “Les citations de l’Ancien Testament dans ‘La Guerre des fils de lumière contre les fils de ténèbres’,” *RB* 63 (1956): 234-260, 375-390, and esp. D. Dimant, “Use and Interpretation of Mikra in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha,” in *Mikra: Text, Translation, Reading and Interpretation of the Hebrew Bible in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity* (ed. M. J. Mulder and H. Sysling; CRINT 2/1; Assen: Van Gorcum, 1988), 379-419. The below system of implicit and explicit uses of scriptures is guided by the approach of Dimant but modifies it at several places. A more detailed discussion of Dimant’s system and other approaches to intertextual relations between Second Temple Jewish texts and the Jewish scriptures can be found in Lange and Weigold, *Biblical Quotations*, 23-28.

<sup>7</sup> See e.g. the heading of a commentary on selected quotations from the Psalter in 4QMidr-Eschat<sup>d</sup> (4Q174) 3:14: [...] מדרש מאשרי [ה]איש אשר לוא הלך בעצת רשעים פשר הדב[ר] המ[ה] סרי מדרש [...] (“Interpretation of ‘Happy is [the] man who does not walk in the council of the sinners’ The interpretation of the wor[d] is: [The]y are those who digress from the way”; quoted according

Jewish scriptures range from textual references without a quotation or allusion to the metatextuality<sup>8</sup> of a continuous commentary. Implicit uses of the Jewish scriptures include the implicit quotation, the implicit allusion, the implicit reference, and the paratextual rewriting or expansion of a given text among the Jewish scriptures<sup>9</sup> and exhibit thus a similar range of possibilities as explicit uses do. Beyond the explicit and implicit employment of Jewish scriptures the use of formulaic and idiomatic language coined by these scriptures can be observed.<sup>10</sup>

- Both in the Vienna research project and in this study, any parallel of at least three words to another text is recognized as an *implicit allusion*.<sup>11</sup> Only in exceptional cases is this perimeter lowered to a parallel of two rare words.
- An *explicit allusion* is characterized by a reference to a given text or a quotation formula in addition to which a given text is paraphrased or a keyword or theme of a given text is employed.<sup>12</sup>

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to A. Steudel, *Der Midrasch zur Eschatologie aus der Qumrangemeinde (4QMidrEschat<sup>a,b</sup>): Materielle Rekonstruktion, Textbestand, Gattung und traditionsgeschichtliche Einordnung des durch 4Q174 ("Florilegium") und 4Q177 ("Catena A") repräsentierten Werkes aus den Qumranfunden* (STDJ 13; Leiden: Brill, 1994), 25.

<sup>8</sup> For the phenomenon of metatextuality in ancient Jewish literature, see A. Lange and Z. Pleše, "Transpositional Hermeneutics: A Hermeneutical Comparison of the Derveni Papyrus, Aristobulus of Alexandria and the Qumran Pesharim," *Journal of Ancient Judaism* 3 (2012): 15-67.

<sup>9</sup> Examples include the rewritings of the Pentateuch in the Qumran *Temple Scroll* or the *Book of Jubilees* as well as the expansion of the references to Levi in the Pentateuch and the Book of Malachi into the *Aramaic Levi Document*. For the phenomenon of paratextuality, see A. Lange, "In the Second Degree: Ancient Jewish Paratextual Literature in the Context of Graeco-Roman and Ancient Near Eastern Literature," in *In the Second Degree: Paratextual Literature in Ancient Near Eastern and Ancient Mediterranean Cultures and Its Reflections in Medieval Literature* (ed. P. S. Alexander, A. Lange, and R. Pillinger; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 3-40, and the literature discussed there.

<sup>10</sup> For a more detailed discussion of my ideas as to how intertextual references in Second Temple literature can be recognized, see A. Lange, "The Textual History of the Book Jeremiah in Light of its Allusions and Implicit Quotations in the Qumran *Hodayot*," in *Prayer and Poetry in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature: Essays in Honor of Eileen Schuller on the Occasion of Her 65<sup>th</sup> Birthday* (ed. J. Penner, K. M. Penner, and C. Wassen; STDJ 98; Leiden: Brill, 2012), 251-284, 252-274; idem, "The Text of Jeremiah in the *War Scroll* from Qumran," in *The Hebrew Bible in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. N. Dávid et al.; FRLANT 239; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2012), 95-116, 99-103; Lange and Weigold, *Biblical Quotations*, 29-35. For the identification of intertextual references in the book of Ben Sira, the reader is also referred to the erudite article of J. G. Snaith, "Biblical Quotations in the Hebrew of Ecclesiasticus," *JTS* 18 (1967): 1-12.

<sup>11</sup> For examples see below, p. 130.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. e.g. the explicit allusion to Num 15:30-31 in 4QMMT B 70: כת[וב שהואה בוזא ומג[ד] ( "it is written, that he is a despiser and a blasphemer").

- An *implicit quotation* is any uninterrupted verbal parallel of at least four words which does not alter the quoted text but is not introduced by a quotation formula or otherwise explicitly identified.<sup>13</sup>
- An *explicit quotation* is any verbal parallel of at least two words which is explicitly identified by a quotation formula or other means.<sup>14</sup>
- An *explicit reference* is characterized by the explicit referral to a given literary work without specifically employing it.<sup>15</sup>
- An *implicit reference* refers to easily identifiable elements of a given text without naming that text.<sup>16</sup>

These definitions are of course subsequent to the ancient literary reality and thus artificial in nature. They should hence be regarded as rules of thumb to which ancient Jewish literature will always necessitate exceptions. Furthermore, the various types of intertextual employment can be mixed in ancient Jewish literature. An example of such a hybrid form is the referenced explicit quotation.<sup>17</sup>

## 2. The Texts of Ben Sira and Jeremiah

Both the book of Jeremiah and the book of Ben Sira had particularly difficult textual histories. In the case of Jeremiah, the Greek and the Hebrew versions are so different in size and structure that one could even speak about two different books of Jeremiah.<sup>18</sup> With concern to the proto-Masoretic version of Jeremiah, I agree with the work of Emanuel Tov, Maurice Bogaert, and

<sup>13</sup> See e.g. the implicit quotation of Jer 32(39):19 in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 8:26: ברוך אתה אדוני גִּדּוֹל הַעֲצָה וְרַב הַעֲלִילִיָּה אֲשֶׁר מַעֲשֵׂיךָ הַכּוֹל ("Blessed are you, Lord, great of counsel and mighty of deed, because the universe is your works").

<sup>14</sup> Cf. e.g. the explicit quotation of Num 24:17 in CD A 7:19-20: כֹּכַב מִיַּעֲקֹב וְקֶסֶף מִיִּשְׂרָאֵל ("as is written: 'a star came out of Jacob and a scepter rose out of Israel'").

<sup>15</sup> Cf. e.g. 4QMMT C 20-21: שֶׁהַּ [פֶּר מוֹ] שֶׁהַּ ("and we recognize, that some of the blessings and the curses came already to be as it is written in the B[ook of Mo]ses").

<sup>16</sup> An example is the mention of Hananiah son of Azur in 4QList of False Prophets ar (4Q339) 8.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. e.g. the explicit referenced quotation of Ps 82:1 in 11QM<sup>elch</sup> 2:9-10: כֹּכַב מִיַּעֲקֹב וְקֶסֶף מִיִּשְׂרָאֵל ("as it is written in the songs of David, who said: 'God stands in the council of God, in the middle of the gods he will judge'").

<sup>18</sup> The scholarly debate about the Hebrew and Greek texts of Jeremiah is extensive. For a survey, see Lange, *Handbuch*, 304-314. On the Greek text of Jeremiah, see also more recently A. Vonach, "Jeremias: Ieremias/Jeremia," in *Septuaginta Deutsch: Erläuterungen und Kommentare*, vol. 2: *Psalmen bis Daniel* (ed. M. Karrer and W. Kraus; Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2011), 2696-2814; G. A. Walser, *Jeremiah: A Commentary based on Ieremias in Codex Vaticanus* (Septuagint Commentary Series; Leiden: Brill, 2012).

others that it is one extensive reworking of a Hebrew text, which was itself slightly reworked by the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the Jeremiah Septuagint. As for the Greek text of Jeremiah, the work of Henry St. John Thackeray<sup>19</sup> began an extensive discussion whether the Jeremiah Septuagint brings together the work of one or more translators. Thackeray himself argued for two separate translations to be found in Jer 1-28 on the one hand and Jer 29-51(52) on the other hand. Tov argued against Thackeray that Jer 29-52 does not go back to a separate translation but represents a revision of the Old Greek text of Jeremiah—a revision which includes also Bar 1:1-3:8 and which Tov labeled Jer-R.<sup>20</sup> Both Tov's and Thackeray's works have been criticized repeatedly.<sup>21</sup> Among these critics, Albert Pietersma argued recently in a series of articles and book chapters for one Greek translation of Jeremiah only.<sup>22</sup> While of great importance for the textual history of the Book of Jeremiah the debate about how many translations and/or revisions the Jeremiah Septuagint includes today is of limited relevance for my question, as with two exceptions all quotations of and allusions to the Book of Jeremiah in the Book of Sira come from Jer 1-28.

For the Book of Ben Sira<sup>23</sup> two different Hebrew<sup>24</sup> and two different Greek texts<sup>25</sup> can be distinguished. H I is close to if not identical with the

<sup>19</sup> H. St. J. Thackeray, "The Greek Translators of Jeremiah," *JTS* 4 (1903): 398-411. Cf. also J. Smith, "Jeremiah 52: Thackeray and Beyond," *BIOSCS* 35 (2002): 55-96.

<sup>20</sup> E. Tov, *The Septuagint Translation of Jeremiah and Baruch: A Discussion of an Early Revision of the LXX of Jeremiah and Baruch 1:1-3:8* (HSM 33; Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press, 1973).

<sup>21</sup> H.-J. Stipp, "Offene Fragen zur Übersetzungskritik des antiken griechischen Jeremiabuches," *JNSL* 17 (1991): 117-128; idem, *Das masoretische und alexandrinische Sondergut des Jeremiabuches* (OBO 136; Freiburg Schweiz: Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1994), 18; T. S. L. Michael, "Bisectioning of Greek Jeremiah: A Problem Revisited?" *BIOSCS* 39 (2005): 103-114.

<sup>22</sup> A. Pietersma, "Ἐπίγειον in Greek Jeremiah," *JNSL* 28 (2002): 101-108; idem, "Greek Jeremiah and the Land of Azazel," in *Studies in the Hebrew Bible, Qumran, and the Septuagint Presented to Eugene Ulrich* (ed. P. W. Flint, E. Tov, and J. C. VanderKam; VTSup 101; Leiden: Brill, 2006), 402-413; idem, "Divinity Denied: Nebuchadnezzar, Divine Appointee but No God: Greek Jeremiah Reconsidered," in *Florilegium Lovaniense: Studies in the Septuagint and Textual Criticism in Honour of Florentino García Martínez* (ed. H. Ausloos, B. Lemmelijn, and M. Vervenne; BETL 224; Leuven: Peeters, 2008), 351-371; idem, "Of Translation and Revision: From Greek Isaiah to Greek Jeremiah," in *Isaiah in Context: Studies in Honour of Arie van der Kooij on the Occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday* (ed. M. N. van der Meer et al.; VTSup 138; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 359-387.

<sup>23</sup> For the textual history of the Book of Ben Sira, see M. H. Segal, "The Evolution of the Hebrew Text of Ben Sira," *JQR* 25 (1934): 91-149; C. Kearns, "Ecclesiasticus, or the Wisdom of Jesus the Son of Sirach," in *New Catholic Commentary on Holy Scripture* (ed. R. C. Fuller et al.; London: Nelson, 1969), 547-550; idem, *The Expanded Text of Ecclesiasticus: Its Teaching on the Future Life as a Clue to its Origins* (Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature Studies 11; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2011 (published version of a 1951 PhD thesis); H.-P. Rüger, *Text und Textform im hebräischen Sirach: Untersuchungen zur Textgeschichte und Textkritik der hebräischen Sirachfragmente aus der Kairoer Geniza* (BZAW 112; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1970); P. W. Skehan and A. A. Di Lella, *The Wisdom of*

text that Ben Sira himself once composed. Fragments of the H I text have survived in the Cairo Genizah and among the Dead Sea Scrolls (2QSir, MasSir).<sup>26</sup> The H II text is a later reworking of H I and can be found according to common opinion in the long texts of the Geniza manuscripts A, B, and C. It remains unclear who is responsible for this reworking. Corley recently argued that manuscript C represents a further Hebrew version which is anthological in character.<sup>27</sup> Reiterer speculates with regard to all versions of Ben Sira, that at least some of their reworkings might go back to Ben Sira himself.<sup>28</sup>

G I (e.g. in LXX<sup>A, B, C, S</sup>) represents the Greek translation of Ben Sira which was produced by his grandson after the year 117 B.C.E.<sup>29</sup> It is close to the Hebrew original of the book of Ben Sira as well as to the text of H I.<sup>30</sup> G

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*Ben Sira: A New Translation with Notes, Introduction, and Commentary* (AB 39; New York: Doubleday, 1987), 51-62; F. V. Reiterer, "Text und Buch Ben Sira in Tradition und Forschung," in F. V. Reiterer, "Alle Weisheit stammt vom Herrn ...": *Gesammelte Studien zu Ben Sira* (ed. R. Egger-Wenzel; BZAW 375; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2007), 3-49; idem, "Die Differenz zwischen Urtext und Ausgangstext: Beispiele zur Entwicklung der sirazidischen Versionen," in *From Qumran to Aleppo: A Discussion with Emanuel Tov about the Textual History of Jewish Scriptures in Honor of his 65<sup>th</sup> Birthday* (ed. A. Lange, M. Weigold, and J. Zsengellér; FRLANT 230; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2009), 123-40; J.-S. Rey and J. Joosten, eds., *The Texts and Versions of the Book of Ben Sira: Transmission and Interpretation* (JSJSup 150; Leiden: Brill, 2011). Still instructive although outdated are the surveys of N. Peters, *Der jüngst wiederaufgefundene hebräische Text des Buches Ecclesiasticus: Untersucht, herausgegeben, übersetzt und mit kritischen Noten versehen* (Freiburg i. B.: Herdersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1902), 3\*-64\*; R. Smend, *Die Weisheit des Jesus Sirach: Erklärt* (Berlin: Georg Reimer, 1906), xlv-clix; and G. H. Box and W. O. E. Oesterley, "The Book of Sirach," in *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament in English*, vol. 1: *Apocrypha* (ed. R. H. Charles; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913), 268-517, 271-291.

<sup>24</sup> The Hebrew manuscripts are conveniently collected by P. C. Beentjes, *The Book of Ben Sira in Hebrew: A Text Edition of All Extant Hebrew Manuscripts and a Synopsis of All Parallel Hebrew Ben Sira Texts* (VTSup 68; Leiden: Brill, 1997). After the edition of Beentjes, new leafs of the Genizah manuscripts C and D were published by Shulamit Elizur and Michael Rand: S. Elizur, "Two New Leaves of the Hebrew Version of Ben Sira," *DSD* 17 (2010): 13-29 (Hebrew version in *Tarbiz* 76 [2007]: 17-28); S. Elizur and M. Rand, "A Fragment of the Book of Ben Sira," *DSD* 18 (2011): 200-205; cf. also R. Egger-Wenzel, "Ein neues Sira-Fragment des Ms C," *BN* 138 (2008): 107-114.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. e.g. J. Ziegler, *Sapientia Iesu Filii Sirach* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.; Septuaginta Vetus Testamentum Graecum 12/2; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1980), 53-84.

<sup>26</sup> For the Qumran evidence, see É. Puech, "Ben Sira and Qumran," in *The Wisdom of Ben Sira: Studies on Tradition, Redaction, and Theology* (ed. A. Passaro and G. Bellia; Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature Studies 1; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2008), 79-118.

<sup>27</sup> J. Corley, "An Alternative Hebrew Form of Ben Sira: The Anthological Manuscript C," in *The Texts and Versions of the Book of Ben Sira* (ed. Rey and Joosten), 3-22.

<sup>28</sup> Reiterer, "Differenz," 134-140.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. see below n. 139.

<sup>30</sup> For the G I text and its translational character, see B. G. Wright, *No Small Difference: Sirach's Relationship to its Hebrew Parenttext* (SBLSCS 26; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989); idem, "Sirach," 715-719; A. Minissale, *La versione greca del Siracide: Confronto con il testo*

II<sup>31</sup> is not completely preserved but can only be found in additions to ms LXX<sup>248</sup> and in the manuscripts of the LXX<sup>O</sup> and LXX<sup>L</sup> groups. G II goes back to H II in some cases but attests to many further additions. In the Greek manuscripts and those translations depending on them Sir 30:25-33:13a and 33:13b-36:16 are in the wrong sequence due to a confusion of leafs in their parent manuscript.

The Syriac versions of Ben Sira (Peshitta and Syro-Hexapla)<sup>32</sup> were influenced by an H II text as well as G II, and attest both to additional material beyond what is included in H II and G II. The Vetus Latina<sup>33</sup> was influenced in its translation by the G II text but includes additional texts which cannot be found in G II and do not repeat all G II long texts. Hieronymus never translated the book of Ben Sira into Latin. The Vetus Latina remains thus the

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*ebraico alla luce dell'attività midrascica e del metodo targumico* (AnBib 133; Rome: Editrice Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 1995); C. Wagner, *Die Septuaginta-Hapaxlegomena im Buch Jesus Sirach: Untersuchungen zu Wortwahl und Wortbildung unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des textkritischen und übersetzungstechnischen Aspekts* (BZAW 282; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1999); E.-M. Becker, H.-J. Fabry, and M. Reitemeyer, "Sophia Sirach: Ben Sira/Ecclesiasticus/Das Buch Jesus Sirach," in *Septuaginta Deutsch: Erläuterungen und Kommentare*, vol. 2: *Psalmen bis Daniel* (ed. M. Karrer and W. Kraus; Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2011), 2158-2272.

<sup>31</sup> For the G II text and other expansive witnesses to Ben Sira, see esp. J. Gile, "The Additions to Ben Sira and the Book's Multiform Textual Witness," in *The Texts and Versions of the Book of Ben Sira* (ed. Rey and Joosten), 237-256, who disproves Kearns' earlier theory (see above n. 23) that all expansions of the text of Ben Sira go back to one Hebrew revision.

<sup>32</sup> For the Syriac version of Ben Sira, see M. D. Nelson, *The Syriac Version of the Wisdom of Ben Sira Compared to the Greek and Hebrew Materials* (SBLDS 107; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1988); L. Schrader, *Verwandschaft der Peschitta mit der (alt)lateinischen Übersetzung im Sirachbuch? Ein Beitrag zur Methodik textgeschichtlicher Forschung* (BN Beihefte 11; München: Institut für biblische Exegese, 1998); N. Calduch-Benages, J. Ferrer, and J. Liesen, *La Sabiduría del Escriba: Edición diplomática de la versión siríaca de Ben Sira según el Códice Ambrosiano, con traducción española e inglesa – Wisdom of the Scribe Diplomatic Edition of the Syriac Version of the Book of Ben Sira according to Codex Ambrosianus, with Translations in Spanish and English* (Biblioteca midrásica 26; Estella: Verbo Divino, 2003); W. van Peursen, "The Peshitta of Ben Sira: Jewish and/or Christian?" *Aramaic Studies* 2 (2004): 243-62; G. Rizzi, "Christian Interpretations in the Syriac Version of Sirach," in *The Wisdom of Ben Sira: Studies on Tradition, Redaction, and Theology* (ed. A. Passaro and G. Bellia; Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature Studies 1; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2008), 277-308; M. Bar-Asher Segal, "The Treatment of Poverty and Theodicy in the Syriac Translation of Ben Sira," *Aramaic Studies* 7 (2009): 131-54.

<sup>33</sup> For the Vetus Latina of Ben Sira, see W. Thiele, ed., *Vetus Latina: Die Reste der altlateinischen Bibel*, vol. 11/2: *Sirach (Ecclesiasticus)* (Freiburg i. B.: Herder, 1987-2005); idem, "Die lateinischen Sirachtexte als Zeugnis der griechischen Sirachüberlieferung," in *Evangelium – Schriftauslegung – Kirche. Festschrift für Peter Stuhlmacher zum 65. Geburtstag* (ed. J. Adna; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1997), 394-402; M. Gilbert, "The Vetus Latina of Ecclesiasticus," in *Studies in the Book of Ben Sira: Papers of the Third International Conference on the Deuterocanonical Books, Shime'on Centre, Pápa, Hungary, 18-20 May, 2006* (ed. G. G. Xeravits and J. Zsengellér; JJSup 127; Leiden: Brill, 2008), 1-9.

only ancient Latin translation of the book. The Coptic<sup>34</sup> as well as the Ethiopic, Armenian, Slavonic, and Arabic versions of Ben Sira remain largely unresearched.<sup>35</sup>

### 3. *The Book of Jeremiah in the Hebrew Text of Ben Sira*<sup>36</sup>

The scholarly debate about quotations of and allusions to Jewish scriptures in Ben Sira is extensive.<sup>37</sup> To discuss it would exceed the limitations of the present article by far. I will therefore only survey this scholarly discourse briefly. Already in their editio princeps of the Cambridge Genizah fragments of the Book of Ben Sira Solomon Schechter and Charles Taylor gave a list of intertextual references in the book of Ben Sira.<sup>38</sup> In the introduction to that list Schechter writes: “For B. S., though not entirely devoid of original ideas, was, as is well known, a conscious imitator both as to form and as to matter, his chief model being the Book of Proverbs.”<sup>39</sup> “... he made ample use of the Bible.”<sup>40</sup> Schechter does not distinguish in his list between quotations, allusions, and other influences that the Jewish scriptures might have exerted on the text of Ben Sira. Such a distinction can be first found with Gasser<sup>41</sup> and Eberharter.<sup>42</sup> Gasser distinguishes between clear dependencies (“deutliche Anlehnungen”), topical reminiscences (“sachliche Reminiszenzen”), and linguistic echoes (“sprachliche Anklänge”). Eberharter classifies Ben Sira’s uses of the Jewish scriptures as allusions (“Anspielungen”), dependen-

<sup>34</sup> For a survey, see F. Feder, “The Coptic Version(s) of the Book of Jesus Sirach,” in *Studies in the Book of Ben Sira* (ed. Xeravits and Zsengellér), 11-20.

<sup>35</sup> For the Ethiopic, Armenian, Slavonic, and Arabic texts of Ben Sira, see the survey *Texts and Versions of the Book of Ben Sira* and Peters, Smend as well as Box and Oesterley, all mentioned in n. 23.

<sup>36</sup> In this article, I count the text of Ben Sira according to the sequence of Sir-LXX as given in Ziegler.

<sup>37</sup> To my regret the following PhD dissertations were not available to me: J. K. Zink, *The Use of the Old Testament in the Apocrypha* (PhD diss.; Duke University, 1963); L. R. Hammill, *Biblical Interpretation in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha* (PhD diss.; University of Chicago, 1950).

<sup>38</sup> S. Schechter and C. Taylor, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira: Portions of the Book of Ecclesiasticus from Hebrew Manuscripts in the Cairo Genizah Collection Presented to the University of Cambridge by the Editors* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1899), 12-25.

<sup>39</sup> Schechter and Tayler, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira*, 12.

<sup>40</sup> Schechter and Tayler, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira*, 13.

<sup>41</sup> J. K. Gasser, *Die Bedeutung der Sprüche Jesu Ben Sira für die Datierung des althebräischen Spruchbuches* (BFCT 2-3 1904; Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1904). In the below list, Gasser’s “deutliche Anlehnungen,” “sachliche Reminiszenzen,” and “sprachliche Anklänge” are marked with superscript <sup>DiAn</sup>, <sup>SaRe</sup>, and <sup>SpAn</sup> respectively.

<sup>42</sup> A. Eberharter, *Der Kanon des Alten Testaments zur Zeit des Ben Sira: Auf Grund der Beziehungen des Sirachbuches zu den Schriften des A. T. dargestellt* (ATA 3/3; Münster: Aschendorff, 1911), 6-52.

cies (“Anlehnungen”), and cross references (“Rückbeziehungen”) which relate to more than one reference.<sup>43</sup> Gasser’s characterization of the Jewish scriptures as Israel’s national literature is problematic as it transfers the modern idea of nationality unquestioned back into Second Temple Judaism. While the works of Schechter, Gasser, and Eberharter go back to the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century, Middendorp<sup>44</sup> presented in 1972 another list of intertextual references in Ben Sira which does not categorize the various uses of the Jewish scriptures in Ben Sira. Finally Silvana Manfredi compiled a brief list of intertextual uses of Jeremiah which focuses on Ben Sira 51.<sup>45</sup> In 2011, I published together with Matthias Weigold a list of *Biblical Quotations and Allusions in Second Temple Jewish Literature* which includes 327 cases for Ben Sira.<sup>46</sup> Many more publications identified and identify quotations of and allusions to the Jewish scriptures in the Hebrew Bible, although these identifications result rarely in lists. The six lists mentioned so far should therefore be understood as examples for a much larger phenomenon. In the table on the next page, I have detailed the uses of the book of Jeremiah, which Schechter, Gasser, Eberharter, and Middendorp, identified. The intertextual references to Jeremiah in Ben Sira which are included by Lange and Weigold will be discussed below in greater detail. Manfredi’s list can be disregarded for methodological reasons.<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> In the below list, I have only included Eberharter’s allusions and dependencies. They are marked with superscript <sup>Ansp.</sup> and <sup>Anl.</sup> respectively.

<sup>44</sup> T. Middendorp, *Die Stellung Ben Siras zwischen Judentum und Hellenismus* (Leiden: Brill, 1972), 51-91.

<sup>45</sup> S. Manfredi, “The True Sage or the Servant of the Lord (Sir 51:13-30 Gr),” in *The Wisdom of Ben Sira: Studies on Tradition, Redaction, and Theology* (ed. A. Passaro and G. Bellia; Deuterocanonical and Cognate Studies 1; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2008), 173-195, 187-191. She mentions the following uses of Jeremiah in Ben Sira: Jer 1:6.7 in Sir 51:13; Jer 2:20 and 5:7 in Sir 51:23; Jer 4:19 in Sir 51:21; Jer 4:31 in Sir 51:19; Jer 5:3 in Sir 51:16.26b; Jer 6:9 in Sir 33:16; Jer 6:10 in Sir 51:25. She mentions further Jer 17:22-23; 41(34):14b; 42(35)15 and 51(44):5 without specifying a parallel in the book of Ben Sira for these texts.

<sup>46</sup> Lange and Weigold, *Biblical Quotations*, 306-15.

<sup>47</sup> See below, at the end of the next paragraph.



Schechter <sup>48</sup>	Gasser	Eberharter	Middendorp <sup>49</sup>
Jer 1:5   Sir 49:6	Jer 1:5   Sir 1:14 <sup>Sake</sup>	Jer 1:5   Sir 1:14 <sup>Ansp.</sup>	Jer 1:5   Sir 49:7
Jer 1:10   Sir 49:7	Jer 1:5   Sir 49:7 <sup>DAn</sup>	Jer 1:5   Sir 49:7 <sup>Anl.</sup>	Jer 1:10   Sir 49:7
Jer 2:24   Sir 13:19	Jer 1:10   Sir 49:7 <sup>DAn</sup>	Jer 1:10   Sir 49:7 <sup>Anl.</sup>	Jer 1:18   Sir 36:29(24)
Jer 9:2   Sir 13:21	Jer 2:8   Sir 15:1 <sup>SpAn</sup>	Jer 2:8   Sir 15:1 <sup>Ansp.</sup>	Jer 2:8   Sir 15:1
Jer 10:16   Sir 51:12	Jer 2:13   Sir 21:13 <sup>DAn</sup>	Jer 3:17   Sir 18:30 <sup>Anl.</sup>	Jer 5:8   Sir 33:6
Jer 10:25   Sir 36:7	Jer 3:17   Sir 18:30 <sup>Sake</sup>	Jer 4:22   Sir 21:12 <sup>Anl.</sup>	Jer 10:25   Sir 36:7
Jer 11:16   Sir 50:10	Jer 10:16   Sir 51:12 <sup>DAn</sup>	Jer 5:21   Sir 6:20 <sup>Ansp.</sup>	Jer 17:9   Sir 36:20
Jer 15:1   Sir 2:8	Jer 10:25 or Ps 79:6   Sir 33(36):8 <sup>DAn</sup>	Jer 5:27   Sir 11:29 <sup>Ansp.</sup>	Jer 18:6   Sir 33:13
Jer 20:9   Sir 40:30	Jer 11:16   Sir 50:10 <sup>SpAn</sup>	Jer 9:7   Sir 51:6 <sup>Ansp.</sup> (sic; otherwise counted as 51:5)	Jer 35(42):11   Sir 51:56
Jer 25:14   Sir 35:19	Jer 18:6   Sir 36(33):13 <sup>DAn</sup>	Jer 11:16   Sir 50:10 <sup>Ansp.</sup>	No specific reference   Sir 49:6
Jer 51(28):56   Sir 35:11	Jer 20:9   Sir 40:30 <sup>SpAn</sup>	Jer 13:25; 25:4-5; 26:5   Sir 6:36 <sup>Ansp.</sup>	
	Jer 28(35):14   Sir 28:20 <sup>SpAn</sup>	Jer 20:9   Sir 40:30 <sup>Ansp.</sup>	
	Jer 31(38):34 or Isa 43:25; Ps 25:7   Sir 23:18 <sup>SpAn</sup>	Jer 22:13; 25:14; 30:8   Sir 13:4 <sup>Ansp.</sup>	
	Jer 37(44):15; 38:6   Sir 49:7 <sup>Sake</sup>	Jer 28(35):14   Sir 28:20 <sup>Ansp.</sup>	
	Jer 48(31):25   Sir 47:7 <sup>SpAn</sup>	Jer 37(44):15; 38:6   Sir 49:6 <sup>Anl.</sup>	
		Jer 48(31):25   Sir 47:7 <sup>Ansp.</sup>	
		Jer 51(28):58   Sir 19:1 <sup>Ansp.</sup>	

<sup>48</sup> The Ben Sira references in this list are given according to the counts of Schechter, Gasser, Eberharter, and Middendorp.

<sup>49</sup> As secondary intertextualities inserted into the text of Ben Sira by later scribes, Middendorp lists Jer 5:27 in Sir 11:27 (sic, correct is Sir 11:29; *Stellung*, 39); Jer 9:2 in Sir 13:20 (*Stellung*, 40); Jer 10:25 (Sir 36:2); Jer 20:9 in Sir 40:30 (*Stellung*, 44).

None of the four lists is without problems. Eberharther compiled his list to define the shape of the Hebrew canon at the time of Ben Sira. But the mere allusion to a given text does not necessarily denote canonical authority.<sup>50</sup> Even the concept of canon did with a high degree of certainty not exist at the time of Ben Sira.<sup>51</sup> To a lesser extent Middendorp's work is subject to the same *caveat* as he wants to establish the way in which the Old Testament influenced Ben Sira's work. Another problem is the fragmentary state of preservation of the Hebrew text and the fact that while—as will be shown below<sup>52</sup>—some intertextual references got lost in the process of translating the Hebrew text into other languages while other intertextual references were added.<sup>53</sup> This problem alone makes Manfredi's list obsolete as she seems to identify intertextual references to Jeremiah based on the Old Greek texts of Jeremiah and Ben Sira only.<sup>54</sup>

Beyond such considerations of canonical and textual history four sample cases suffice to illustrate the basic methodological difficulties with the four lists mentioned above.

- Eberharther<sup>55</sup> considers the וחצי לשון מרמה (“and arrows of a tongue of deceit”) in Sir 51:5 as an allusion to the חץ שוחט לשונם מרמה (“a sharpened arrow is their tongue, deceit...”) of Jer 9:7. Eberharther seems to point to a three word parallel between Jer 9:7 and Sir 51:5. But in Jer 9:7 חץ and לשון belong to one stichos while מרמה is part of another one. In Sir 51:5 all three words form a single phrase which belongs to a single stichos. The parallel between the two texts is thus restricted to the words חץ and לשון. It needs to be admitted that both words are combined rarely in pre-Rabbinic Hebrew literature and that Jer 9:7 and Sir 51:6 resemble each other most among the verses which combine the two words. Nevertheless, it can very well be imagined that the metaphor of a tongue like an arrow was more widespread in Second Temple Jewish literature than the two occurrences in Jer 9:7 and Sir 51:5. Both Ben Sira and the author of Jer 9:7 could have thus employed the metaphor independent on each other.

<sup>50</sup> Cf. Snaith, “Biblical Quotations,” 4: “the fact that the quotation was from the past literature of his national heritage may have been sufficient to command respect from Ben Sira! The distinction between canonical and uncanonical does not seem to have been meaningful to Ben Sira.”

<sup>51</sup> For a detailed argumentation supporting this claim, the reader is referred to my article “From Literature to Scripture: The Unity and Plurality of the Hebrew Scriptures in Light of the Qumran Library,” in *One Scripture or Many? Canon from Biblical, Theological, and Philosophical Perspectives* (ed. C. Helmer and C. Landmesser; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 51-107.

<sup>52</sup> See e.g. my discussion of the uses of Jer 2:8 in Sir 15:1; Jer 3:10 in Jer 48:15; Jer 5:8 in Sir 36(33):6; Jer 18:7-9 in Sir 49:7; and Jer 32(39):17 in Sir 48:13.

<sup>53</sup> Cf. also Snaith, “Biblical Quotations,” 2.

<sup>54</sup> See note 45.

<sup>55</sup> Eberharther, *Kanon*, 19.

- Schechter,<sup>56</sup> Middendorp,<sup>57</sup> and Wright<sup>58</sup> think that in Sir 36:7 (33:8) the phrase, שפך חמה (“pour out wrath”) reflects the שפך חמתך (“pour out your wrath”) of Jer 10:25. It needs to be stated though that the verb שפך and the noun חמה are common in pre-Rabbinic Hebrew literature and that they are often paired with each other. Examples include Isa 42:25; Ezek 7:8; 9:8; 14:19; 20:8.13.21.33.34; 22:22; 30:15; 36:18; Ps 79:6; Lam 2:4; 4:11; 4QDibHam<sup>a</sup> (4Q504) XVI:11; XVIII:5; and 6QpapProph (6Q10) 1 ii 5. In Ps 79:6, שפך חמתך occurs even with the same morphology as in Jer 10:25.<sup>59</sup>
- In the list of Lange and Weigold,<sup>60</sup> Sir 21:8 is considered to be an implicit allusion to Jer 22:13. While in comparison to Jer-LXX 22:13 the Greek text of Ben Sira fulfils the formal criterium of at least three parallel words between two references (ὁ οἰκοδομῶν τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ), the phrase οἰκοδομῶ οἰκίαν is too common to qualify this parallel as an implicit allusion. The Hebrew of Sir 21:8 is not preserved. It is likely though that Ben Sira read at this place בנה ביתו. As in the Greek, the Hebrew phrase בית בנה is too common to qualify a two word parallel between Sir 21:8 and Jer-MT 22:13 as an implicit allusion. Both the Hebrew and the Greek phrase occur for example also in Zeph 1:13.
- Gasser<sup>61</sup> and Eberharther<sup>62</sup> regard the ζυγὸς σιδηροῦς in Sir-LXX 28:20 (no Hebrew text is preserved) as an allusion to Jer 28(35):14. That Jer-LXX 35:14 and Sir-LXX 28:20 are the only references in the Septuagint attesting to the combination of these two words seems to support Eberharther. But in Hebrew the phrase על כרסו is known not only from Jer-MT 28:14 but also Deut 28:48. Both texts fit the context of Sir 28:20 equally well. It seems likely that the metaphor of an iron yoke developed into a conventional phrase which was not tied any more to the Deuteronomic reference initiating it. That the grandson renders his grandfather's text as ζυγὸς σιδηροῦς does not need to point to a secondary intertextual reference to Jer-LXX 35:14 either, as the grandson translates על in Sir 40:1 and 51:26 as ζυγός, too.

All four examples point to a common or popular usage of Hebrew or Greek phrases rather than any form of intertextual dependence. The Jewish literary heritage influenced the Hebrew language and coined many idiomatic

<sup>56</sup> Schechter and Taylor, *Wisdom*, 17.

<sup>57</sup> Middendorp, *Stellung*, 69.

<sup>58</sup> Wright, *Difference*, 208.

<sup>59</sup> Cf. already Gasser, *Sprüche*, 220; Eberharther, *Kanon*, 20. Middendorp, *Stellung*, 42, points to a use of Jer 10:25 in the Syriac translation of Sir 36:2 though.

<sup>60</sup> Lange and Weigold, *Biblical Quotations*, 144, 309.

<sup>61</sup> Gasser, *Sprüche*, 221.

<sup>62</sup> Eberharther, *Kanon*, 19.

phrases and formulaic expressions or was able to influence the vocabulary of a given author in the Second Temple period in many other ways.<sup>63</sup> Michaelis<sup>64</sup> calculated that 96.75% of the preserved Hebrew vocabulary in the book of Ben Sira appears also in the books of the Hebrew Bible. Furthermore the mere occurrence of a hapaxlegomenon in the Hebrew Bible and in Ben Sira does not point to literary dependencies. As Ackroyd put it: The use of hapax in two texts is “a precarious basis for proof, since it must lead also to the conclusion that Ben Sira was familiar with the Moabite stone because of his use of the word *’āšûah* (l. 3).”<sup>65</sup> Beyond such linguistic influences of the earlier Jewish literature on Ben Sira the possibility of dependence on common traditions needs to be considered. All of this means that not every verbal parallel points to an intertextual dependency of the Book of Ben Sira on earlier Jewish literature.<sup>66</sup>

Below I will therefore engage neither with all references included in the lists of Schechter, Eberharter, Middendorp, and Taylor nor will I discuss all quotations and allusions mentioned in scholarly literature. My work is guided instead by the list of Lange and Weigold. Based on their work, in the original Hebrew text of the Book of Ben Sira, as far as it can be reconstructed, twelve quotations of and allusions to the Book of Jeremiah can still be identified which preserve 37 words of ancient Jeremiah text. These 37 words of Jeremiah texts include four variant readings. Ben Sira reads three times with Jer-MT against Jer-LXX and one time with several Masoretic manuscripts, Jer-LXX, Jer-V, and Jer-P against Jer-MT.

*Ten implicit allusions to Jeremiah by Ben Sira*

Anterior Text	Posterior Text	Text of Sirach which include the allusion
Jer 2:8	Sir 15:1	mss A and B
Jer 2:32	Sir 37:25	mss D and D <sup>m</sup>
Jer 2:32	Sir 41:13	mss MasSir and B
Jer 3:10	Sir 48:15	ms B
Jer 5:8	Sir 36(33):6	mss E and F
Jer 18:6	Sir 36(33):13	ms E and Sir-LXX
Jer 18:7-9	Sir 49:7	ms B
Jer 27:12 (34:10)	Sir 51:26	ms B and Sir-LXX
Jer 31(38):28	Sir 49:7	ms B and Sir-LXX
Jer 32(39):17	Sir 48:13	ms B

<sup>63</sup> Cf. already P. R. Ackroyd, “Criteria for the Maccabean Dating of Old Testament Literature,” *VT* 3 (1953): 113-132, 114-118.

<sup>64</sup> D. Michaelis, “Das Buch Jesus Sirach als typischer Ausdruck für das Gottesverhältnis des nachalttestamentlichen Menschen,” *TLZ* 63 (1958): 601-608, 601-602.

<sup>65</sup> Ackroyd, “Criteria,” 117.

<sup>66</sup> For these and further arguments, see in particular the excellent article by Snaith, “Biblical Quotations,” 1-5, and the remarks by Ackroyd, “Criteria,” 114-118.

*One explicit allusion to Jeremiah by Ben Sira*

Anterior Text	Posterior Text	Text of Sirach which include the allusion
Jer 1:5	Sir 49:7	ms B and Sir-LXX

*One explicit quotation of Jeremiah by Ben Sira*

Anterior Text	Posterior Text	Text of Sirach which include the allusion
Jer 1:10	Sir 49:7	ms B and Sir LXX

The above list indicates that Ben Sira's grandson chose to translate seven out of ten implicit allusions to Jeremiah without reference to the Jeremiah Septuagint. This means that many Jeremiah allusions and implicit quotations of Ben Sira cannot be recognized in the Greek text of Ben Sira. In those passages of Ben Sira which are not preserved in Hebrew more Jeremiah quotations and allusions could hence be hidden.

In the below text-critical analysis of Ben Sira's Jeremiah quotations and allusions orthographic variants will not be recognized as they are of no text-critical importance. Individual scribes changed the orthography of their *Vorlagen* according to their wishes and orthographic needs disconnected from the textual character of these *Vorlagen*. Only since the 1<sup>st</sup> century C.E., evidence exists which links textual character with orthography. Furthermore the Jeremiah manuscripts from Qumran cannot be included because none of the Jeremiah passages which Ben Sira quotes or alludes to is preserved in these manuscripts.

*3.1. The H I Text of Ben Sira<sup>67</sup>**Sir 15:1 and Jer 2:8*

כי ירא יי יעשה זאת ותופש תורה ידריכנה  
The one who fears the Lord will do this and the one who seizes the Torah will obtain her. (Sir 15:1 ms A)

כי ירא יי יעשה זאת ותופש תורה י[...]ה  
The one who fears the Lord will do this and the one who seizes the Torah will [obtain] her. (Sir 15:1 ms B)

Ὁ φοβούμενος κύριον ποιήσει αὐτό, καὶ ὁ ἐγκρατὴς τοῦ νόμου καταλήμψεται αὐτήν·

The one who fears the Lord will do it and the one who has power over the law will seize her. (Sir-LXX 15:1)

<sup>67</sup> Transcriptions of Ben Sira manuscripts are according to Beentjes, *Book of Ben Sira*. English translations of Sir-LXX are based on Wright, "Sirach." English translation of Jer-MT and Jer-LXX are based on NRSV and Albert Pietersma and Marc Saunders, "Jeremias," in *A New English Translation of the Septuagint* (ed. A. Pietersma and B. G. Wright; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 876-924.

הַכֹּהֲנִים לֹא אָמְרוּ אֵיהּ יְהוָה וְתַפְשֵׁי הַתּוֹרָה לֹא יָדְעוּנִי וְהָרַעִים פָּשְׁעוּ בִּי וְהַנְּבִיאִים נִבְּאוּ בְּבַעַל  
וְאַחֲרַי לֹא־יָדְעוּלִי הַלָּכֹו:

The priests did not say, ‘Where is the Lord?’ and those who seize the law did not know me; the shepherds transgressed against me; the prophets prophesied by Baal and went after things that do not profit. (Jer-MT 2:8)

οἱ ἱερεῖς οὐκ εἶπαν Ποῦ ἐστὶ κύριος; καὶ οἱ ἀντεχόμενοι τοῦ νόμου οὐκ ἠπίσταντό με, καὶ οἱ ποιμένες ἡσέβουν εἰς ἐμέ, καὶ οἱ προφηῆται ἐπροφήτευσον τῇ Βααλ καὶ ὀπίσω ἀνωφελοῦς ἐπορεύθησαν.

The priests did not say: ‘Where is the Lord?’ and those who hold fast to the law did not know me, and the shepherds would act impiously toward me, and the prophets would prophesy by the goddess Baal and went after what does not profit. (Jer-LXX 2:8)

The intertextual relation between Jer 2:8 and Sir 15:1 is a good example for the limitations of mechanical searches for textual parallels such as the Vienna quotations project. Lange and Weigold list Sir 15:1 among the uncertain quotations and allusions<sup>68</sup> because the parallel text between Jer 2:8 and Sir 15:1 does not exceed two words. A closer study makes an implicit allusion likely though. Both the verb תפש and the noun תורה are common in pre-Rabbinic Hebrew. It could therefore reasonably be expected that the pairing of תפש and תורה occurs repeatedly in pre-Rabbinic Jewish literature. But both lexemes are attested together only in Jer 2:8 and Sir 15:1. Sir 15:1 should therefore be classified as an implicit allusion to Jer 2:8.<sup>69</sup>

Ben Sira borrows in Sir 15:1 language from Jer 2:8 to speak about “the one who seizes the Torah,” ותופש התורה. In the text of Ben Sira, textual variation can be observed between mss A and B, who read תורה without a determinative, and Sir-LXX which has τοῦ νόμου instead. While the grandson adjusted the quotations and allusions of his grandfather’s text several times in his Greek translation to the Old Greek text of Jeremiah,<sup>70</sup> he did not do so in Sir 15:1. Jer-LXX renders ותפש התורה of Jer 2:8 as καὶ οἱ ἀντεχόμενοι τοῦ νόμου. But the grandson reads in Sir-LXX 15:1 καὶ ὁ ἐγκρατὴς τοῦ νόμου. The different renderings of Jer-LXX 2:8 and Sir-LXX 15:1 make it likely that the grandson did not recognize the implicit allusion to Jer 2:8 of his grandfather Ben Sira. If the grandson translated the text of his grandfather faithfully it is likely that the original text of Sir 15:8 read with Jer-MT 2:8 התורה. The use of the determinative ה is unusual though for sapiential proverbs which are mostly phrased in a general way. Some time in the scribal tradition of Ben Sira the ה of התורה was therefore deleted by a copyist.

<sup>68</sup> Lange and Weigold, *Biblical Quotations*, 359.

<sup>69</sup> Cf. Schechter and Taylor, *Wisdom*, 16; Gasser, *Sprüche*, 220; Eberharder, *Kanon*, 19; Box and Oesterley, “Sirach,” 369; Middendorp, *Stellung*, 69. Smend, *Weisheit*, 139, as well as Skehan and Di Lella, *Wisdom of Ben Sira*, 364, refer to Jer 2:8 but do not specify whether they regard Sir 15:1 as an allusion to the Jeremiah text or not.

<sup>70</sup> E.g. my below discussion of Sir 49:7.

The only textual difference between Sir 15:1 and Jer 2:8 is therefore the singular *וְתוֹפֵשׁ* in Sir 15:1 against the plural *וְתוֹפְשֵׁי* in Jer 2:8. But the singular form of Sir 15:1 is due to the grammar of the sapiential proverb which regularly employs the masculine singular. In Sir 15:1 the number of the verb *יָרָא* determined thus the number of the participle *וְתוֹפֵשׁ*. Similar changes from a plural in the Jer-text to a singular can e.g. be observed in the use of Jer 5:8 in Sir 36(33):6.

*Sir 36(33):6 and Jer 5:8*

כסוס מוכן אוהב שונא תחת כל אוהב יצהל

Like a readied horse is a hating friend he will neigh under every friend (Sir 36:6 ms E<sup>71</sup> + F)

ἵππος εἰς ὀχρίαν ὥς φίλος μωκός, ὑποκάτω παντὸς ἐπικαθημένου χρεμετίζει.  
A horse (ready) for covering is like a mocking friend; underneath every rider it neighs. (Sir-LXX 33:6)

סוסים מְיֻנָּיִם מְשֻׁכִּים הָיוּ אִישׁ אֶל־אִשֶּׁת רֵעֵהוּ יִצְהָלוּ

Horses in heat they were, well prepared, each neighing for his neighbor's wife. (MT 5:8 Jer)

ἵπποι θηλυμανεῖς ἐγενήθησαν, ἕκαστος ἐπὶ τὴν γυναῖκα τοῦ πλησίον αὐτοῦ ἐχρεμετίζον.

Horses mad about mares they were, each neighing for the wife of his fellow. (Jer-LXX 5:8)

Textual differences between the Hebrew and Greek texts of Sir 36(33):6 impede the analysis of the intertextual relationship between Sir 36(33):6 and Jer 5:8. The εἰς ὀχρίαν (“for covering”) of Sir-LXX 33:6 does not correspond to the מוכן (“readied”) of Sir 36:6 in ms F. The most likely explanation is that Sir-LXX read in its parent text מִיֻּנָּי (“in heat”).<sup>72</sup> This readings corresponded to the מְיֻנָּיִם of Jer-MT 5:8. Later on the sexual metaphor was considered to be too drastic. A scribe changed therefore in Sir 36(33):6 the original expression designating a horse in heat (כסוס מִיֻּנָּי) into one that describes a horse ready for battle (כסוס מוכן). The original Hebrew of Sir 36(33):6 included thus three parallel words with Jer 5:8. As these three words occur together only in Jer 5:8 and Sir 36(33):6 the parallel can be classified as an implicit allusion of Ben Sira to Jer 5:8. That the grandson employs in Sir-LXX 33:6 the expression εἰς ὀχρίαν for the מִיֻּנָּי of his grandfather and not an equivalent for the θηλυμανεῖς of Jer-LXX 5:8, shows that he produced his translation of Sir 33:6 independent on Jer-LXX. It is therefore unlikely that he recognized the intertextual relationship which Ben Sira created with Jer 5:8.

<sup>71</sup> Ms E is damaged in Sir 36(33):6. The words מוכן and אוהב are missing.

<sup>72</sup> Cf. e.g. Vattioni, *Ecclesiastico*, 173; Skehan and Di Lella, *Wisdom of Ben Sira*, 396; Minissale, *La versione greca*, 83; Nuria Calduch-Benages, “Animal Imagery in the Hebrew Text of Ben Sira,” in *The Texts and Versions of the Book of Ben Sira* (ed. Rey and Joosten), 54-71, 59 n. 22.

Among the textual witnesses to Jer 5:8 preserved from the Second Temple period no textual variation is preserved for the words מְיָנִים, סוֹסִים, and יִצְהָל. That Ben Sira employs in Sir 36(33):6 the singular forms כסוס, מיזן, and יצהל, instead of the plural forms attested in Jer-MT 5:8 should not be viewed as attesting to an anterior Jeremiah text employed by Ben Sira which was at variance with the consonantal text of Jer-MT. Ben Sira changed the number of מְיָנִים, סוֹסִים, and יִצְהָל from plural to singular to fit the grammatical structure of a sapiential proverb which is normally phrased in the third person masculine singular in pre-Rabbinic Hebrew literature. No textual variants are thus preserved for Jer 5:8 in its employment in Sir 36(33):6.

*Sir 36(33):13 and Jer 18:6*

[כחמר ביד] יוצר לאחוזו כרצון [כן אדם ביד] עושהו להתיצב מפניו חלק<sup>73</sup>  
 [Like clay in the hand of a ]potter – holding it according to (his) will—[thus is a human in the hand of] his maker—presenting oneself before him according to his share. (Sir 33:13 ms E)  
 ὡς πηλὸς κεραμέως ἐν χειρὶ αὐτοῦ—πᾶσαι αἱ ὁδοὶ αὐτοῦ<sup>74</sup> κατὰ τὴν εὐδοκίαν αὐτοῦ—, οὕτως ἄνθρωποι ἐν χειρὶ τοῦ ποιήσαντος αὐτοῦ ἀποδοῦναι αὐτοῖς κατὰ τὴν κρίσιν αὐτοῦ.  
 Like clay of a potter in his hand—all his procedures are according to his will—thus are humans in the hand of their maker, to return them back according to his judgment. (Sir-LXX 36:13)

הַכִּיּוֹצֵר הַזֶּה לֹא־אוּכַל לַעֲשׂוֹת לָכֶם בֵּית יִשְׂרָאֵל נְאֻם־יְהוָה הִנֵּה כַחֲמֶר בְּיַד הַיּוֹצֵר כְּנֶאֱמַם בְּנִדִּי בֵּית יִשְׂרָאֵל:

Can I not do with you as this potter, house Israel?—Utterance of the Lord—  
 Like clay in the hand of the potter, so are you in my hand, house Israel! (Jer-MT 18:6)

Εἰ καθὼς ὁ κεραμεὺς οὗτος οὐ δύνησονται τοῦ ποιῆσαι ὑμᾶς, οἶκος Ἰσραὴλ; ἰδοὺ ὡς ὁ πηλὸς τοῦ κεραμέως ὑμεῖς ἐστε ἐν χειρὶ μου.  
 Shall I not be able to do with you, house of Israel, just as this potter did?  
 Behold, like the clay of the potter are you in my hands. (Jer-LXX 18:6)

<sup>73</sup> For this reconstruction of Sir 33:13, see first J. Marcus, *The Newly Discovered Original Hebrew of Ben Sira (Ecclesiasticus xxxii, 16-xxxiv, 1): The Fifth Manuscript and A Prosodic Version of Ben Sira (Ecclesiasticus xxii, 22-xxiii, 9). Edited from Hebrew Manuscripts in the Elkan N. Adler Genizah Collection in the Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America* (Philadelphia: The Dropsie College for Hebrew and Cognate Learning, 1931), 17; idem, "A Fifth Ms. of Ben Sira," *JQR* 21 (1931): 223-240, 233. Marcus reconstructs יוצר[ה] and האדם. But in comparison with Sir-LXX, to read יוצר[ה] and אדם seems more likely to me.

<sup>74</sup> Against the text of Ziegler (*Sapientia Iesu Filii Sirach*, 279), I read here πᾶσαι αἱ ὁδοὶ αὐτοῦ with the edition of A. Rahlfs, *Septuaginta: Id est Vetus Testamentum graece iuxta LXX interpretes*, vol. 2: *Libri poetici et prophetici* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1982), 433. Ziegler's πλάσαι αὐτό goes back to scribal corruption.



The identification of the intertextuality at work in Sir 36(33):13 has to overcome the lacunae of ms E. The participle of יצר occurs together with a form of the verb עשה not only in Sir 33:13 (ms E) and Jer 18:3.4.6 but also in Isa 22:11; 27:11; 29:16 (together with כְּחֶמֶר); 44:2.24; 45:7.9 (together with חֶמֶר).18; Jer 33(40):2; and Hab 2:18 (cf. also Isa 64:7).<sup>75</sup> Given the widespread use of this rhetoric, the pairing of יצר and עשה alone does not allow for the assumption of an intertextual relationship between Sir 36(33):13 and Jer 18:3.4.6. Only the reconstruction of the Hebrew text of Ben Sira which Joseph Marcus suggested based on the Greek text<sup>76</sup> allows for more insights. The text which is preserved after the initial lacuna in ms E (הַיּוֹצֵר לְאָחוֹז כְּרִצּוֹן) does not leave any space for an equivalent of the grandson's ἐν ᾧ οὐκ ἔστιν ἔργον such as בְּיָדוֹ. Marcus' reconstruction is therefore the most plausible way to read this lacuna. Why the grandson did not translate the construct compound בֵּיד הַיּוֹצֵר בֵּיד with a genitive compound in the Greek but chose ἐργαζόμενος ἐν ᾧ ἔργον instead will be explained below.

Next to Sir 36(33):13 the phrase בְּיָד הַיּוֹצֵר can only be found in Jer 18:6.<sup>77</sup> While a comparison of a human in God's hand with the clay in the hand of a potter was most probably an obvious choice,<sup>78</sup> the exact verbal parallel between Sir 36(33):13 and Jer 18:6 argues nevertheless for an allusion to Jer 18:6 in Sir 36(33):13.<sup>79</sup> Such an allusion becomes even more likely when it is seen that both passages employ a form of the verb עשה and that Sir 36(33):13 and Jer 18:6 employ the metaphor in a similar sense. Ben Sira emphasizes that like a potter can easily return the clay of a vessel he is making to its original form so can the creator return humans as easily to their original form when judged. Jer 18:1-10 argues that just as a potter can easily remold a clay vessel on his wheel so can God judge Israel and destroy it. Sir 36(33):13 contains hence an implicit allusion to Jer 18:6.

<sup>75</sup> Finite forms of the verb יצר occur together with a form of the verb עשה also in 37:26; 43:7; 46:11; Ps 95:11.

<sup>76</sup> See above n. 73.

<sup>77</sup> While MT<sup>A</sup>, L, Kenn 2, 3, 23, 67, 72, 84, 99, 114, 115, 141, 154, 168, 175, 182, 195, 198, 199, 201, 210, 258, 288T, 289, 290, 300T, 664T (cf. MT<sup>Kenn</sup> 130, 150) read in Jer 18:4 בְּחֶמֶר, MT<sup>Kenn</sup> 96, 112, 187, 252, 253 have כְּחֹמֶר. The latter is a harmonization with the text of Jer 18:6.

<sup>78</sup> Skehan and Di Lella, *Wisdom of Ben Sira*, 401, refer to Isa 29:16; 45:9; 64:7; Wis 15:7; and Rom 9:20-23 as further parallels.

<sup>79</sup> Thus e.g. Gasser, *Sprüche*, 220; Middendorp, *Stellung*, 69; T. Penar, *Northwest Semitic Philology and the Hebrew Fragments of Ben Sira* (BibOr 58; Rome: Biblical Institute, 1975), 55-56; R. A. Argall, *I Enoch and Sirach: A Comparative Literary and Conceptual Analysis of the Themes of Revelation, Creation and Judgment* (SBLJL 8; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995) 139; U. Wicke-Reuter, *Göttliche Providenz und menschliche Verantwortung bei Ben Sira und in der Frühen Stoa* (BZAW 298; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2000), 257; cf. Smend, *Weisheit*, 299; Box and Oesterley, "Sirach," 430. Against J. T. Sanders, *Ben Sira and Demotic Wisdom* (SBLMS 28; Chico, Calif.: Scholars Press, 1983), who wants to see "a traditional Judaic image" at work (69).

In Greek as well, Jer-LXX 18:6 is the only close textual parallel to Sir-LXX 36:13. Although the phrase *ὥς ὁ πηλὸς τοῦ κεραμέως* occurs also in Isa 29:16; 41:25; and 45:9 only Jer-LXX 18:6 and Sir-LXX 36:13 combine this expression with forms of the words *χείρ* and *ποιεῖν*. Nevertheless, textual differences remain between Jer-LXX 18:6 and Sir-LXX 36:13. Like his grandfather, the grandson does not have the articles *ὁ* and *τοῦ* of the *ὥς ὁ πηλὸς τοῦ κεραμέως* from Jer-LXX 18:6. This lack of articles achieves the general applicability of the sapiential proverb in Sir-LXX 36(33):13. The articles would have referred to a specific potter and a specific clay while “clay of a potter” allows for a more general statement. Different from Jer-LXX 18:6 and guided by his grandfather, the grandson includes an equivalent to the *בִּיד* of Jer 18:6 in his rendition of Sir 36(33):16, i.e. *ἐν χειρὶ αὐτοῦ*. As already stated above,<sup>80</sup> he does not imitate the construct compound of his grandfather. This is all the more surprising as the grandson imitates construct compounds which include the word *יד* regularly with genitive compounds in the Greek (Sir-LXX 10:4.5; 15:14; 43:12; 48:20; 49:7(6); 50:12; 51:3; e.g. *ἐν χειρὶ κυρίου* for *בִּיד אֱלֹהִים*). Instead of a more verbal translation like this, the grandson imitates Jer-LXX 18:6 with his *ὥς πηλὸς κεραμέως* and inserts an equivalent to *בִּיד* into the text of Jer-LXX 18:6 by adding *ἐν χειρὶ αὐτοῦ* after *ὥς πηλὸς κεραμέως*. This translational approach is all the more peculiar because the grandson imitates the construct *בִּיד עוֹשֵׂהוּ* closely just a few words later when he translates it as *ἐν χειρὶ τοῦ ποιήσαντος αὐτούς*.<sup>81</sup> The reason for the grandson’s free translation of the phrase *בִּיד כְּחַמֵּר בִּיד הַיּוֹצֵר* lies in the text of Jer-LXX 18:6. With *ἐν χειρὶ αὐτοῦ* the grandson imitates *ἐν χερσὶ μου* at the end of Jer-LXX 18:6 which renders the *בְּיָדֵי* of Jer-MT 18:6. In this way, the grandson does not need to change the text of Jer-LXX beyond deleting articles and changing the plural number of *χερσίν* (Jer-LXX 18:6) to the singular number of *χειρὶ* (Sir-LXX 36:13). By way of such relatively small textual changes, the grandson merged the text of his grandfather’s implicit allusion to Jer-MT 18:6 with the text of Jer-LXX 18:6. This intertextual translation technique reminds of similar approaches in Sir 51:26 (Jer 27:12 [34:10]) and Sir 49:7 (Jer 1:5; 1:10; 31[38]:28).

The comparison of Sir-LXX 36:13 with Jer-LXX 18:6 showed already that Jer-LXX 18:6 lacks an equivalent for the word *בִּיד* in the construct compound *בִּיד הַיּוֹצֵר*. According to the reconstruction of Marcus,<sup>82</sup> and Sir-LXX 36:13, it is therefore most likely that both grandson and grandfather read in Sir 36(33):13 with Jer-MT against Jer-LXX.

<sup>80</sup> See above, p. 135.

<sup>81</sup> The plural *αὐτούς* instead of the singular *αὐτός* is due to the collective character of *הָאָדָם* which the grandson renders correctly as *ἄνθρωποι*. Because *ἄνθρωποι* as the antecedent to *αὐτούς* is in the plural, the grandson needed to render the object suffix of *עוֹשֵׂהוּ* in the plural as well, i.e. as *αὐτούς*.

<sup>82</sup> See above n. 73.

*Sir 37:25; 41:13 and Jer 2:32*

חיי אנוש ימים מספר וחיי ישורון ימי אין מספר

The lives of humans are days in number but the lives of Jeshurun are days without number. (Sir 37:25 D)

גויתהן מספר יש לימים וגוית שם ימי אין מספר

For your bodies a number in days exists but for the body of the name the days are without number. (Sir 37:25 D<sup>m</sup>)

ζωὴ ἀνδρὸς ἐν ἀριθμῷ ἡμερῶν, καὶ αἱ ἡμέραι τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ ἀναρίθμητοι.

The life of a man is in a number of days, but the days of Israel are countless. (Sir-LXX 37:25)

טובת חי מספר ימים וטובת שם ימי אין מספר

The goodness of life lasts a number of days but the goodness of a name lasts days without number. (Sir 41:13 MasSir)

טובת חי ימי מספר וטובת שם ימי אין מספר

The goodness of life lasts a numbered days but the goodness of a name lasts days without number. (Sir 41:13 ms B)<sup>83</sup>

ἀγαθῆς ζωῆς ἀριθμὸς ἡμερῶν, καὶ ἀγαθὸν ὄνομα εἰς αἰῶνα διαμενεῖ

A good life is in a number of days but a good name remains forever. (Sir-LXX 41:13)

הַתְּשַׁכַּח בְּתוֹלֶה עֲדָה פֶּלֶה קִשְׁרִיהָ וְעַמִּי שִׁכְחֹנִי יָמִים אֵין מִסְפָּר

Will a young woman forget her jewelry, a bride her sashes? But my people have forgotten me days (that) are without number! (MT Jer 2:32)

μη ἐπιλήσεται νύμφη τὸν κόσμον αὐτῆς καὶ παρθένος τὴν στηθοδεσμίδα αὐτῆς; ὁ δὲ λαὸς μου ἐπελάθετό μου ἡμέρας, ὧν οὐκ ἔστιν ἀριθμὸς.

Will a marriageable woman forget her jewelry, and a young woman her brassière? But my people forgot me for days, that are without number! (Jer-LXX 2:32)

Although the three words of the expression יָמִים אֵין מִסְפָּר are common in pre-Rabbinic Hebrew literature, their combination can only be found in Jer 2:32 and Sir 37:25; 41:13. There can hence be little doubt that Ben Sira employed in Sir 37:25; 41:13 the language of Jer 2:32 in the form of an implicit allusion.

The text of Sir 37:25 and 41:13 is at considerable variance among its textual witnesses. In Sir 37:25, the text of D<sup>m</sup> should be understood as an interpretative marginal gloss and not as an alternate reading of this verse. When Sir-LXX 37:25 has καὶ αἱ ἡμέραι τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ ἀναρίθμητοι (“but the days of Israel are countless”) for וחיי ישורון ימי אין מספר (“but the lives of Jeshurun are days without number”) this should be understood as a liberal

<sup>83</sup> B<sup>m</sup> notes for חי טובת חי מספר ימים in the margin and for the טובת חי it has טוב.

translation which interprets Jeshurun<sup>84</sup> correctly as an honorific name of Israel (cf. Deut 32:15; 33:5.26; Isa 44:2).<sup>85</sup>

In Sir 41:13a, the Greek text of Sir-LXX imitates the Hebrew text of MasSir closely (par ἀγαθῆς ζωῆς ἀριθμὸς ἡμερῶν).<sup>86</sup> As the two witnesses from the Second Temple period agree, it seems likely that the text of ms B (ימי מספר) represents a later adjustment of the מספר ימים from MasSir to the construct ימי אין מספר. The marginal glosses of B<sup>m</sup> reintroduced the original reading מספר ימים into ms B but changed טובת two times into טוב.

Textual variants towards Jer-MT are not preserved in Ben Sira's employments of Jer 2:32 in Sir 37:25 and 41:13. Ben Sira himself or a scribe very early in the textual tradition of the book of Ben Sira found the expression ימים אין מספר linguistically difficult. Instead of adding a relative particle either Ben Sira himself or such a later scribe put ימים therefore into the construct resulting in two nouns in the construct state.

When Jer-LXX 2:32 has ἡμέρας, ὧν οὐκ ἔστιν ἀριθμὸς ("days, that are without number") for ימים אין מספר this should not be understood as a variant reading towards Jer-MT either. The Old Greek translator interpreted אין מספר as a relative clause which was not introduced with a relative particle.

The implicit allusions to Jer 2:32 in Sir 37:25 and 41:13 are therefore of no text-critical importance for the text of the book of Jeremiah. Ben Sira's grandson seems to have recognized his grandfathers allusions to Jer 2:32 neither in Sir 37:25 nor in Sir 41:13. He created without reference to Jer-LXX 2:32 two translations of ימי אין מספר which even differ from each other.

#### *Sir 48:13 and Jer 32(39):17*

כל דבר לא נפלא ממנו ומתחתיו נברא בשרו:

Nothing was too difficult for him and out from below him his flesh was created. (Sir 48:13 ms B)

πῶς λόγος οὐχ ὑπερῆρεν αὐτόν, καὶ ἐν κοιμῇσει ἐπροφήτευσεν τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ.

No word was too difficult for him and in sleep his body prophesied. (Sir-LXX 48:13)

אֱהָה אֲדֹנָי יְהוָה הִנֵּה | אֶתָּה עָשִׂיתָ אֶת־הַשָּׁמַיִם וְאֶת־הָאָרֶץ בְּכֹחַךְ הַגָּדוֹל וּבְזַרְעֶךָ הַנָּטוּיָה לֹא־יִפְלֹא מִמֶּךָ כָּל־דָּבָר:

Oh Lord God, behold, you made the heavens and the earth with your great strength and with your outstretched forearm, nothing is too difficult for you. (Jer-MT 32:17)

<sup>84</sup> For the priority of Jeshurun, see already Smend, *Weisheit*, 336, and Box and Oesterley, "Sirach," 447.

<sup>85</sup> Cf. HAL 2:430.

<sup>86</sup> Cf. Y. Yadin, *The Ben Sira Scroll from Masada: With Introduction, Emendations and Commentary* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1965), 19.

Ὁ ὢν κύριε, σὺ ἐποίησας τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν τῇ ἰσχύι σου τῇ μεγάλῃ καὶ τῷ βραχίονί σου τῷ ὑψηλῷ καὶ τῷ μετεώρῳ, οὐ μὴ ἀποκρυβῇ ἀπὸ σοῦ οὐθέν.

You that are Lord, you made the heaven and the earth with your great strength and with your arm lifted high of the ground! Nothing shall be hidden from you. (Jer-LXX 39:17)

Although all words of the clause *כל דבר לא נפל ממנו* are not rare in pre-Rabbinic Hebrew literature, their combination occurs only in Sir 48:13 and Jer 32(39):17. That both texts share five words could even argue for an implicit quotation of Jer 32(39):17 in Sir 48:13. Differences in grammatical form (*ממנו* instead of *מִמֶּנִּי* and *נפל* instead of *יִפֹּל*) as well as a different word order demonstrate though that Sir 48:13 contains only an implicit allusion to Jer 32(39):17. The differences in grammatical form are due to the different subjects of Jer 32(39):17 and Sir 48:13. Jer 32(39):17 addresses God and uses therefore with the preposition *מן* a suffix of the second person masculine singular. Sir 48:13 speaks of Elishah and uses therefore with the preposition *מן* a suffix of the third person masculine singular. Sir 48:13 reiterates the story from 2 Kgs 13:21 of how even Elishah's dead body could resurrect a dead person thrown into his grave.<sup>87</sup> It employs therefore a *niphal* perfect form of the verb *פלא* to express that the described events happened in the past. Different from Sir 48:13, Jer 32(39):17 praises God and uses thus a *niphal* imperfect form of the verb *פלא* to express the ongoing truth of the statement that nothing is too difficult for God. The different word order goes back to Ben Sira as well. The Jeremiah text puts the words *לֹא-יִפֹּל* at the beginning to emphasize the incomparability of God. Ben Sira opens the verse Sir 48:13 with the words *כל דבר* to emphasize the incomparability of Elijah who worked miracles<sup>88</sup> even in his grave.

That Jer-LXX 39:17 uses ἀποκρυβῇ (“shall be hidden”) to render *יִפֹּל* (“is too difficult”) reminds of its translation of *יִפֹּל* as κρυβήσεται (“will be hidden”) in Jer-LXX 39:27. Both renderings are exceptional for the translation of the *niphal* of the verb *פלא* in the Greek Jewish scriptures. No other occurrence is attested. But Jer-LXX 39:17 is supported in its translation by Targum Jonathan (cf. also Vetus Latina and Peshitta), which reads both in Jer 32:17 and in Jer 32:27 יתכסא (“will be hidden”) for the *יִפֹּל* of Jer-MT.<sup>89</sup> It could be possible that the parent texts of Jer-LXX and Jer-MT

<sup>87</sup> Thus J. G. Snaith, *Ecclesiasticus or the Wisdom of Jesus Son of Sirach: Commentary* (CBC; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974), 241; cf. Box and Oesterley, “Sirach,” 502; Skehan and Di Lella, *Wisdom of Ben Sira*, 534; G. Sauer, *Jesus Sirach (Ben Sira)* (JSRZ 3/5; Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1981), 627.

<sup>88</sup> The ἐπιοφίτευσεν of Sir-LXX is a mistranslation of the grandson. He did not understand how his grandfather used the word נברא (ms B) and conjectured for Sir 48:13 the word נבא. Against Smend, *Weisheit*, 463; Box and Oesterley, “Sirach,” 502; Skehan and Di Lella, *Wisdom of Ben Sira*, 532, who regard נברא as a scribal corruption of נבא.

<sup>89</sup> Cf. e.g. W. McKane, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Jeremiah*, vol. 2: *Commentary on Jeremiah XXVI-LII* (ICC; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1996), 843, and J. R.

read not פלא but another verb.<sup>90</sup> MT<sup>Kenn 82, 93</sup> could give a hint as to which verb this was. Both manuscripts read in Jer 32:17 יפלה instead of יפלא. יפלה is a scribal error which could have occurred easily several times in the textual tradition of Jer 32(39):17. The means the parent texts of both Jer-LXX and Targum Jonathan might have read יפלה in Jer 32(39):17, 27. פלה signifies in the *niphal* “to be separate from.”<sup>91</sup> This meaning of פלה could have easily been interpreted by both Jer-LXX and Targum Jonathan as nothing is separate, i.e. hidden, from the creator of heaven and earth.

But what argues against such a speculation is that other Targumin render the *niphal* יפלא in Gen 18:14 in a similar way as Targum Jonathan translates Jer 32:17. Targum Onqelos and Targum Neofiti have in Gen 18:14 יתכסא while Targum Pseudo-Jonathan reads יתכסי. The Targumim show that Jer-LXX attests in Jer-LXX 39:17 to a forgotten signification of the root פלא in the *niphal*. The Septuagint rendering of ἀποκρυβῆ in Jer 39:17 should hence not be regarded as a textual variant but as reflecting one of many ancient meanings of the *niphal* stem of the root פלא.

Given the above explanation of Sir-LXX no textual differences between Ben Sira’s allusion to Jer 32(39):17 and Jer-MT as well as Jer-LXX can be detected. The grandson rendered his grandfather’s implicit allusion to this text without reference to Jer-LXX and probably did not recognize the Jeremiah allusion of his grandfather.

#### *Sir 48:15 and Jer 3:10*

בכל זאת לא שב העם ולא חדלו מחטאתם

In all this, the people did not return and did not cease from their sin. (Sir 48:15 ms B)

Ἐν πᾶσιν τούτοις οὐ μετενόησεν ὁ λαὸς καὶ οὐκ ἀπέστησαν ἀπὸ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν αὐτῶν.

In all these, the people did not change their mind and did not move away from their sins. (Sir-LXX 48:15)

וגם בכל־זאת לא־שבה אלי בגודה אחותה יהודה בכל־לבה כי אם־בִּשְׁקָר נאם־יהוה

And even in all this, her treacherous sister Judah did not return to me with all her heart but in falsehood, utterance of the Lord. (Jer-MT 3:10)

καὶ ἐν πᾶσι τούτοις οὐκ ἐπεστράφη πρὸς με ἡ ἀσύνθετος Ιουδα ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας αὐτῆς, ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ ψεύδει.

And in all these, did not return unfaithful Judah out of her whole heart but in falsehood. (Jer-LXX 3:10)

Lundbom, *Jeremiah 21-36: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 21B; New York: Doubleday, 2004), 512.

<sup>90</sup> Cf. G. Fischer and A. Vonach, “Jeremias: Das Buch Jeremia,” in *Septuaginta Deutsch: Das griechische Alte Testament in deutscher Übersetzung* (ed. M. Karrer and W. Kraus; Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2009), 1288-1342, 1330.

<sup>91</sup> Cf. e.g. D. J. A. Clines, *The Concise Dictionary of Classical Hebrew* (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2009), 358.

The phrase *בכל זאת לא שב* occurs not only in Sir 48:15 and Jer 3:10 but is employed repeatedly in the book of Isaiah as well.<sup>92</sup> Isa 5:25; 9:11.16.20; 10:4 know the expression *בְּכָל-זֹאת לֹא-יָשָׁב אָפוּ וְעוֹד יָדוֹ נְטוּיָה* (“because of all this, his anger has not turned away; his hand is still stretched out”). Although four words are even morphologically identical with the text of Sir 48:15, the different subjects of Sir 48:15 and the Isaiah references make it unlikely that the Praise of the Fathers employed the rhetoric of the book of Isaiah in Sir 48:15. In Isa 5:25; 9:11.16.20; 10:4 it is God’s anger which does not turn away while in the Praise of the Fathers it is the people of Israel which did not turn away from their wicked ways. With a similar subject as the Praise of the Fathers, Jer 3:10 employs the phrase in the allegory of the two sisters Israel and Judah. Jer 3:10 declares that Israel’s sister Judah did not return to the Lord: *וְגַם-בְּכָל-זֹאת לֹא-שָׁבָה אֵלַי* (“and in all this she did not return to me”). That the Praise of the Fathers employs in Sir 48:15 the rhetoric of Jer 3:10 to describe Israel’s wantonness, is all the more likely as Judah and Israel are depicted in Jer 3:6-10 as two equally wanton sisters. Jer 3:10 speaks hence not only about Judah but by implication about Israel as well. Outside of Isa 5:25; 9:11.16.20; 10:4; Jer 3:10; and Sir 48:15 the phrase *בכל זאת לא שב* does not occur elsewhere in pre-Rabbinic Hebrew literature. An implicit allusion to Jer 3:10 in Sir 48:15 becomes hence likely.

Between Jer-MT 3:10 and its implicit allusion in Sir 48:15 one textual difference exists. Sir 48:15 speaks of *שב העם* while Jer-MT 3:10 has *שָׁבָה* instead. The different gender of the two verbal forms is due to the line of argument in Sir 48:15. In its allegory, Jer 3:10 states that “sister Judah” did not return. *שב* is therefore construed in the feminine (*שָׁבָה*). Sir 48:15 makes the same claim about the people of the norther kingdom of Israel. *שב* is therefore construed in the masculine (*שב*). Another textual difference can be found between Jer-MT 3:10 and Sir 48:15 on the one hand and Jer-LXX 3:10 on the other hand. Jer-LXX 3:10 reads instead of singular form *בכל זאת* in Jer-MT 3:10 and Sir-H 48:15 the plural form *ἐν παντί τοῖς αὐτοῖς*. The LXX reading should not be regarded as a textual variant<sup>93</sup> though but as a translational variant instead. While *כל זאת* does not occur a second time in the book of Jeremiah, its renderings in the Greek translations of 1 Sam 22:15; Isa 5:25; 9:11.16.20; 10:4; Hos 7:10; Ps 78:32; Job 1:22; 2:10; Neh 10:1 correspond to the *παντί τοῖς αὐτοῖς* of Jer-LXX 3:10. That Jer-LXX 3:10 employs the plural form *τοῖς αὐτοῖς* instead of the singular form *זאת* should hence be regarded as a matter of translation technique only.

Whether Ben Sira’s grandson produced his translation of Sir 48:15 with or without being influenced by Jer 3:10 is difficult to decide. Jer-LXX 3:10 has for *שָׁבָה ἐπεστράφη*. Ben Sira’s grandson renders the *שב* of his grandfather as *μετενόησεν*. Both translations interpret the meaning of their parent

<sup>92</sup> Cf. Peters, *Ecclesiasticus*, 276.

<sup>93</sup> Thus C. Rabin, S. Talmon, and E. Tov, eds., *The Book of Jeremiah* (The Hebrew University Bible; Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1997), 77.

texts correctly. That the grandson chose a different equivalent for שׁב than Jer-LXX makes it likely that he did not recognize his grandfather's allusion to Jer 3:10. This observation suggests in turn that he rendered זאת בכל as ἐν πᾶσιν τοῦτοις not because Jer 3:10 did so but because it seemed to him the best Greek equivalent. In this, the grandson agrees with the Greek translators of 1 Samuel, Isaiah, Hosea, Psalms, Job, and Nehemiah. While in other cases the grandson adjusted only individual parts of his grandfathers allusions to Jer-LXX (cf. Jer 27:12 [34:10] in Sir-LXX 51:26), the broad agreement with other Greek translators makes such a specific influence of Jer-LXX 3:10 in Sir-LXX 48:15 unlikely.

*Sir 49:7 and Jer 1:5; 1:10; 18:7-9; 31(38):28*

בִּיד יִרְמְיָהוּ כִּי עָנוּהוּ וְהוּא מֵרַחֵם נֹצֵר נְבִיא לְנִתּוּשׁ וּלְנִתּוּץ וּלְהַאֲבִיד לְהָרֵס וְכֵן לִבְנֵת לְנִטֵּעַ וּלְהַשִּׁיב

by the hand of Jeremiah – because they mistreated him although he was formed as a prophet from the womb onwards to uproot and to pull down and to destroy, to break down, and thus to build, to plant and to make turn away. (Sir 49:7 ms B)

ἐν χειρὶ Ἰερεμίου.<sup>7</sup> ἐκάκωσαν γὰρ αὐτόν, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν μήτρᾳ ἡγιάσθη προφήτης ἐκρίζου καὶ κακοῦν καὶ ἀπολλύειν, ὡσαύτως οἰκοδομεῖν καὶ καταφυτεύειν.

by the hand of Jeremiah – because they treated him harshly and hallowed him as a prophet in the womb to uproot and to bring evil and to destroy and in a similar fashion to build and to plant. (Sir-LXX 49:6-7)

בְּטֶרֶם אֶצְוֶרְךָ בְּבֶטֶן יִדְעָתִיךָ וּבְטֶרֶם תֵּצֵא מִרֶחֶם הַקִּדְשָׁתִיךָ נָבִיא לְגוֹיִם וְנִתְּתִיךָ

Before I shaped you in the belly, I knew you, and before you came out of the womb I hallowed you, as a prophet to the nations I gave you. (Jer-MT 1:5)

Πρὸ τοῦ με πλάσαι σε ἐν κοιλίᾳ ἐπίσταμαί σε καὶ πρὸ τοῦ σε ἐξελεῖν ἐκ μήτρας ἡγίακά σε, προφήτην εἰς ἔθνη τέθεικά σε.

Before I shaped you in the belly, I knew you, and before you came out of the womb, I hallowed you, as prophet to the nations I gave you. (Jer-LXX 1:5)

רְאֵה הִפְקַדְתִּיךָ הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה עַל־הַגּוֹיִם וְעַל־הַמְּלָכוֹת לְנִתּוּשׁ וּלְנִתּוּץ וּלְהַאֲבִיד וּלְהָרֵס לְבָנוֹת וּלְנִטְעַ

Behold, I have appointed you on this day over the nations and over the kingdoms, to uproot, to pull down, to destroy and to break down, to build and to plant. (Jer-MT 1:10)

ἰδοὺ κατέστακά σε σήμερον ἐπὶ ἔθνη καὶ ἐπὶ βασιλείας ἐκρίζου καὶ κατασκάπτειν καὶ ἀπολλύειν καὶ ἀνοικοδομεῖν καὶ καταφυτεύειν.

Behold, I have appointed you today over the nations and over the kingdoms, to uproot and to pull down and to destroy and to rebuild and to plant. (Jer-LXX 1:10)

רָגַע אֲדַבֵּר עַל־גּוֹי וְעַל־מַמְלָכָה לְנִתּוּשׁ וּלְנִתּוּץ וּלְהַאֲבִיד:<sup>8</sup> וְשָׁב הַגּוֹי הַהוּא מִרְעֻתוֹ אֲשֶׁר דִּבַּרְתִּי עִלָּיו וְנִחַמְתִּי עַל־הָרָעָה אֲשֶׁר חִשַּׁבְתִּי לַעֲשׂוֹת לוֹ:<sup>9</sup> וְרָגַע אֲדַבֵּר עַל־גּוֹי וְעַל־מַמְלָכָה לְבָנוֹת וּלְנִטְעַ



At one moment I speak over a nation and a kingdom, in order to uproot, to pull down, and to destroy<sup>8</sup> but if that nation, about which I have spoken, turns away from its evil, I will relent about the evil that I planned to do to it.<sup>9</sup> And at another moment, I will speak over a nation or a kingdom to build and to plant. (Jer-MT 18:7-9)

Πέρας λαλήσω ἐπὶ ἔθνος ἢ ἐπὶ βασιλείαν τοῦ ἐξῆραι αὐτοὺς καὶ τοῦ ἀπολλύειν,<sup>8</sup> καὶ ἐπιστραφή τὸ ἔθνος ἐκεῖνο ἀπὸ τῶν κακῶν αὐτῶν, καὶ μετανοήσω περὶ τῶν κακῶν, ὧν ἐλογισάμην τοῦ ποιῆσαι αὐτοῖς.<sup>9</sup> καὶ πέρας λαλήσω ἐπὶ βασιλείαν τοῦ ἀνοικοδομεῖσθαι καὶ τοῦ καταφυτεύεσθαι.

Ultimately I will speak over a nation or a kingdom to remove and to destroy,<sup>8</sup> and if that nation turns away from its evils then I will change my mind over the evils, which I devised to do to them.<sup>9</sup> And ultimately I will speak over a nation and a kingdom to rebuild and to plant. (Jer-LXX 18:7-9)

וְהָיָה כַּאֲשֶׁר שָׁמַרְתִּי עֲלֵיהֶם לְנִתּוֹשׁ וּלְנִתּוֹץ וּלְהָרֵס וּלְהַצְבִּיד וְלִהְרַע בְּן יִשְׂרָאֵל עַל־יָהִם לְבָנוֹת וּלְנִטּוֹעַ נְאֻם־יְהוָה

And it shall be like when I kept watch over them to uproot, to pull down, to break down, and to destroy, so will I keep watch over them to build and to plant, utterance of the Lord.

(Jer-MT 31:28)

καὶ ἔσται ὥσπερ ἐγρηγόρουν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς καθαιρεῖν καὶ κακοῦν, οὕτως γρηγορήσω ἐπ' αὐτοὺς τοῦ οἰκοδομεῖν καὶ καταφυτεύειν, φησὶ κύριος.

And it shall be like when I watched over them to remove and to bring evil, so will I keep watch over them to build and to plant. (Jer-LXX 38:28)

Different from other employments of the text of Jeremiah, Sir 49:7 leaves no doubt that it is concerned with the prophet Jeremiah. Both the Hebrew and Greek texts indicate this concern with their introductory phrases בִּיד ירמיהו and ἐν χειρὶ Ἰερεμίου. A comparison of Sir 49:7 with the book of Jeremiah shows that Sir 49:7 is composed out of different passages from the book of Jeremiah. Ten out of sixteen words are taken from Jer 1:5; 1:10; 18:7-9; 31(38):28.

In the beginning of Sir 49:7, Ben Sira takes the words מרחם and נביא out of Jer 1:5.<sup>94</sup> Although the parallel text between Jer 1:5 and Sir 49:7 does not exceed two words, an allusion to Jer 1:5 is certain for Sir 49:7 because מרחם and נביא occur together in pre-Rabbinic Hebrew literature only in these two references, because the combination of the two nouns is uncommon, because both texts use the preposition מן in combination with רחם, and because only three words earlier Jeremiah is mentioned explicitly in Sir 49:7.

Sir 49:7 understands Jer 1:5 differently than the Masoretes and the Septuagint did. The latter, both separate הִקְדַּשְׁתִּיךָ מִרְחֶם and נָבִיא לְגוֹיִם נָתַתִּיךָ into two main clauses: “and before you came out of (your) mother’s womb I have hallowed you, as a prophet to the nations I have given you.” Sir 49:7

<sup>94</sup> Cf. Schechter and Talyor, *Wisdom*, 24; Gasser, *Sprüche*, 220; Eberharder, *Kanon*, 20; Box and Oesterley, “Sirach,” 504; Middendorp, *Stellung*, 69; Snaith, *Ecclesiasticus*, 245; Skehan and Di Lella, *Wisdom of Ben Sira*, 543; Wright, *Difference*, 204.

understands *נָבִיא* and *הַקְדִּישְׁתִּיךָ* as two main clauses to which one sub-clause is subordinated. “Before you came out of your mother’s womb, I have hallowed you as a prophet, I have given you to the nations.” When Sir 49:7 reads a *niphal* form of the verb *יָצַר* instead the *hiphil* of *קִדֵּשׁ* in Jer 1:5 this should not be regarded as a textual variant but as an exegetical alteration. Sir 49:7 emphasizes in this way that God did not just consecrate, i.e. destine, Jeremiah’s fetus in his mother’s womb to become a prophet, but that God created him as a prophet when he was still in his mother’s womb—an antenatal prophet so to speak.<sup>95</sup>

The next Jeremiah passage incorporated into Sir 49:7 is Jer 1:10.<sup>96</sup> That Sir-Syr lacks this part of the verse due to scribal corruption.<sup>97</sup> Jer 1:10 shares five words in verbal parallel and another one in almost verbal parallel with Sir 49:7. With Jeremiah mentioned at the beginning of Sir 49:7 (בֵּיד יִרְמְיָהוּ), the employment of Jer 1:10 in Sir 49:7 can be characterized as an explicit quotation. That Sir-LXX lacks equivalents for both *וְלִהְיֶיב* and *לְהָרֵס* in Sir 49:7 does not qualify the two words as later glosses.<sup>98</sup> Below I will argue instead that the lack of such equivalents is intentional in Sir-LXX. When the Hebrew text of Sir 49:7 reads *לִנְטֹעַ* instead of the *וְלִנְטֹעַ* in Jer-MT 1:10 this is due to scribal corruption in the Hebrew textual tradition of Ben Sira because the grandson reads in his Greek translation *καὶ καταφύτευσεν*. Furthermore, that Sir 49:7 has *לְהָרֵס* instead of *וְלִהְיֶיב* is also due to the loss of the initial *waw* of *וְלִהְיֶיב* in the scribal transmission of the Hebrew text of Ben Sira. Because *וְלִהְיֶיב* can be found only in the MT text of Jer 1:10 but is lacking in the LXX, Ben Sira reads here clearly with Jer-MT.

With the two words that cannot be found in Jer 1:10 (וכן and וְלִהְיֶיב) Ben Sira creates sophisticated intertextual links to two further passages in the book of Jeremiah, i.e. Jer-MT 18:7-9 and Jer-MT 31:28. Both texts resemble Jer 1:10 already in the text of Jer-MT. Jer-MT 18:7.9 share with both Jer-MT 1:10 and Sir 49:7 a verbal parallel of five words (Jer 18:7 *לְנִתּוֹשׁ וְלִנְתּוֹץ* and Jer 18:9 *לְבָנוֹת וְלִנְטֹעַ*). Jer-MT 31:28 shares with Jer-MT 1:10 and Sir 49:7 six words of verbal parallel but in different word sequence (*לְנִתּוֹשׁ וְלִנְתּוֹץ* and *לְבָנוֹת וְלִנְטֹעַ*). Because Sir 49:7 is influenced in its word sequence by Jer-MT 1:10 as compared to Jer-MT 31:28 and because

<sup>95</sup> For the use of Jer 1:5 in 1QH<sup>a</sup> VII:28.30; XVII:30; see Lange, “Textual History,” 269-271, 282.

<sup>96</sup> Cf. Schechter and Talyor, *Wisdom*, 24; Peters, *Ecclesiasticus*, 282; Gasser, *Sprüche*, 220; Eberharder, *Kanon*, 20; Box and Osterley, “Sirach,” 505; Middendorp, *Stellung*, 69; Snaith, *Ecclesiasticus*, 245; Wright, *Difference*, 203; Skehan and Di Lella, *Wisdom of Ben Sira*, 543, who do not recognize that Ben Sira employs also Jer 18:7-9; 31(38):28. One of the few to refer to Jer 18:7-9; 31(38):28 is Sauer, *Jesus Sirach*, 629.

<sup>97</sup> Cf. Peters, *Ecclesiasticus*, 282.

<sup>98</sup> Against Peters, *Ecclesiasticus*, 282; Smend, *Weisheit*, 470; Wright, *Difference*, 203; Skehan and Di Lella, *Wisdom of Ben Sira*, 541 (cf. Minissale, *La versione greca*, 173), who regard *לְהָרֵס* as a later insertion by the scribe of ms B out of Jer 1:10, and against Wright, *Difference*, 203, who regards *וְלִהְיֶיב* as a gloss as well.

Sir 49:7 includes the word *להרס* which cannot be found in Jer-MT 18:7-9, Jer-MT 1:10 is to be regarded as the main base texts of Sir 49:7. The word *ולהשיב* from Sir 49:7 finds its counterpart in the word *ושב* from Jer-MT 18:8. Ben Sira placed the *ושב* from Jer-MT 18:8 at the end of Sir 49:7 and changed its grammatical form into an infinitive *hiphil* (*ולהשיב*) to align it with the preceding infinitive forms in Sir 49:7. Jer 18:7-9 can thus be characterized as a secondary base text for Ben Sira. Ben Sira brings this secondary base text to the attention of his reader by adding an *ולהשיב* to the end of his quotation of Jer 1:10 thus evoking the *ושב* of Jer 18:8. *ולהשיב* should therefore not be regarded as a textual variant towards the text of Jer-MT 1:10.

The word *וכן* in Sir 49:7 finds its counterpart in Jer-MT 31:28. As was the case with Jer 18:7-9, Ben Sira picked just one word out of Jer 31(38):28, i.e. *כן*, and inserted it into his explicit quotation of Jer 1:10. By way of this intertextual link, he points the attention of his readers to this similar yet different passage in the book of Jeremiah as another secondary base text. Different from all extant textual witnesses to Jer 31(38):28, Ben Sira precedes the word *כן* with a *waw* (*וכן*). This textual change does not point to a textual variant to Jer-MT 31:28 but to a textual variant to Jer-MT 1:10 in the Jeremiah text which Ben Sira employed. Several medieval Masoretic manuscripts read *וְלִבְנוֹת* (MT<sup>Kenn 1, 109, 191, 244</sup>) instead of *לִבְנוֹת*. The reading is not only supported by the Vulgate and the Peshitta but also by the Septuagint of Jeremiah (*καὶ ἀνοικοδομεῖν*). It seems likely that Ben Sira employed a copy of Jeremiah which supported this inner-Masoretic harmonizing reading. When Ben Sira inserted *כן* into his explicit quotation of Jer 1:10 he separated the *waw*-copulativum of *וְלִבְנוֹת* from *לִבְנוֹת* and created the word *וכן*.

On the whole, in Sir 49:7, Ben Sira emulates thus the intertextuality of the book of Jeremiah itself by creating new intertextual links between Jer 1:10; 18:7-9; and 31(38):28. In doing that he reads one time with MT (*להרס*) and one time with a part of the Masoretic textual tradition of Jeremiah (*וכן* (*וְלִבְנוֹת = לבנות*)).

So far I have focused on the Hebrew text of Sir 49:7. But the grandson's translation of this Hebrew text is significantly different. Having described the intertextuality of the Hebrew text of Sir 49:7, I can now engage with the question why this is the case.

For Sir 49:7, Wright<sup>99</sup> leans towards the opinion that the G I text of Ben Sira is in Sir 49:7 not influenced by the Old Greek text of Jeremiah. But the grandson faced in his translation of Sir 49:7 two problems. First, to translate the quotations and allusions of Jer 1:5, 10; 18:7-9; and 31(38):28 without reference to the Jeremiah Septuagint would have made it impossible for his Greek speaking audience to recognize the Jeremianic intertextuality created by his grandfather. Second, to employ the vocabulary of the Jeremiah Septuagint one on one with the text of his grandfather was also impossible as the

<sup>99</sup> Wright, *Difference*, 203-205.

Jeremiah Septuagint does not have Greek equivalents for all Hebrew words of Jer 1:10; 18:7-9; and 31(38):28, and uses sometimes different Greek words to render the same Hebrew word in Jer 1:10; 18:7-9; and 31(38):28. The Septuagint did hence not allow as well as the Hebrew text of Jer-MT for the recognition of the intertextual links which exist between Jer 1:10; 18:7-9; and 31(38):28, and which Ben Sira himself imitated in his brief description of Jeremiah in Sir 49:7.

To solve both problems, the grandson created the Jeremianic intertextuality of Sir 49:7 anew. He replaced the נוצר ("he was created [by God]") in his grandfather's text with the Greek word ἡγιασθη ("he was hallowed") corresponding to the ἡγιακα of Jer-LXX 1:5.<sup>100</sup> In this way, the grandson realigns his grandfather's text with the Old Greek text of Jer 1:5.

In the case of the grandson's Greek rendering of Ben Sira's explicit quotation of Jer 1:10, the Greek words ἐκριζοῦν, ἀπολλύειν, and καταφυντεύειν provided enough textual correspondence to allow for the recognition of Jer-LXX 1:10.<sup>101</sup> That the grandson employs Jer-LXX 1:10 in his translation of Sir 49:7 becomes apparent when it is seen with George B. Caird, "that, outside of Ecclesiasticus, Jer 1:10 is the only place in the LXX where נָחַץ (sic; the correct word is נָחַץ) is translated by ἐκριζοῦν, even in Jeremiah where the word occurs eleven times."<sup>102</sup> To allow for better recognition of the intertextual relation between Jer-LXX 1:10 and Jer-LXX 38:28 the grandson did not include the word להרס of his grandfather's text into his Greek translation of Sir 49:7.

The only verbal parallel to Jer 18:7-9 is in Sir-LXX 49:7 the word ἀπολλύειν. That Jer-LXX 18:9 has the infinitive καταφυντεύεσθαι instead of the καταφυντεύειν in Jer 1:10; 31(38):28 and Sir 49:7 is not helpful either for reproducing the intertextuality of the Hebrew text of Sir 49:7. The grandson chose further not to translate the ולהשיב of Sir 49:7 into Greek. It seems as if he did not recognize the intertextual intention of his grandfather or more likely that he found a translation of ולהשיב too difficult to adjust to the rest of the Greek text of Sir 49:7. The former could be true because the Greek text of Jer 18:7-9 does not reflect the intertextual relation with Jer 1:10 and 31(38):28 implied by the Hebrew text of Jeremiah. The latter is more likely because the grandson clearly engaged in detail with the Greek and Hebrew texts of Jer 18:6 in Sir 36(33):13. The grandson does admit to such translational shortcomings in his prologue (Sir prologue 18-22). In light of this admission it seems likely that the grandson either did not recognize the intertextuality between Sir 49:7 and Jer 18:7-9 or chose to ignore it.

<sup>100</sup> Cf. Peters, *Ecclesiasticus*, 282; Smend, *Weisheit*, 470; Box and Oesterley, "Sirach," 502; Wright, *Difference*, 204.

<sup>101</sup> For the grandson's use of Jer-LXX 1:10, see also Smend, *Weisheit*, 470.

<sup>102</sup> G. B. Caird, "Ben Sira and the Dating of the Septuagint," in *Studia Evangelica*, vol. 7: *Papers Presented to the Fifth International Congress on Biblical Studies held at Oxford, 1973* (ed. E. A. Livingstone; TUGAL 126; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1982), 95-100, 99.

In the case of Jer 31(38):28, the grandson demonstrates his ingenuity to recreate the Jeremianic intertextuality of the Hebrew text of Sir 49:7 in new Greek words. Instead of the ἀνοικοδομεῖν of Jer 1:10 or the ἀνοικοδομεῖσθαι of Jer 18:9, he uses the οἰκοδομεῖν of Jer-LXX 38(31):28. When the grandson substitutes the וְלִנְתֹּן of Sir 49:7 with καὶ κακοῦν and not with the καὶ κατασκάπτειν of Jer-LXX 1:10, the grandson is not only inspired by the ἐκάκωσαν at the beginning of Sir 49:7,<sup>103</sup> but also by the use of this word in Jer-LXX 38(31):28 where καὶ κακοῦν translates וְלִנְתֹּן.<sup>104</sup>

In this way, the grandson found new ways to emulate the intertextualities which his grandfather created between Jer 1:10 and 31(38):28 based on the text of the Jeremiah Septuagint. Having achieved this, the grandson was free to translate the וְכֵן of Sir 49:7 not with the οὕτως of Jer-LXX 38(31):28 but with ὡσαύτως. In Greek, the latter reproduced in the opinion of the grandson most probably the comparative force which Ben Sira had in mind for וְכֵן better than a simple οὕτως.

*Sir 51:26 and Jer 27:12 (34:10)*

וְצוֹאֲרֵיכֶם בַּעֲלָהּ הַבִּיאוּ וּמִשָּׂאָהּ תִּשָּׂא נַפְשְׁכֶם

Bring your necks under her yoke and your life shall bear her weight. (Sir 51:26 ms B)

τὸν τράχηλον ὑμῶν ὑπόθετε ὑπὸ ζυγόν, καὶ ἐπιδεξάσθω ἡ ψυχὴ ὑμῶν παιδείαν.

Place your neck under a yoke and have your soul accept instruction. (Sir-LXX 51:26)

וְאֶל־צִדְקִיָּה מֶלֶךְ־יְהוּדָה דִּבַּרְתִּי כָּל־הַדְּבָרִים הָאֵלֶּה לְאָמֹר הִבִּיאוּ אֶת־צוֹאֲרֵיכֶם בַּעֲלָהּ מֶלֶךְ־בָּבֶל וְעָבְדוּ אֹתוֹ וְעָמּוּ וְחָיוּ

And to Zedekiah, the king of Babel, I spoke according to all these words saying: Bring your necks under the yoke of the king of Babel and serve him and as his people, and live. (Jer-MT 27:12)

Καὶ πρὸς Σεδεκίαν βασιλέα Ἰουδα ἐλάλησα κατὰ πάντας τοὺς λόγους τούτους λέγων Εἰσαγάγετε τὸν τράχηλον ὑμῶν καὶ ἐργάσασθε τῷ βασιλεῖ Βαβυλῶνος.

And to Zedekiah, the king of Judah I spoke according to all these words, saying: Move your neck and serve the king of Babylon. (Jer-LXX 34:10)

When Ben Sira says in Sir 51:26 וְצוֹאֲרֵיכֶם בַּעֲלָהּ הַבִּיאוּ (“bring your necks under her yoke”), he employs the phrase הִבִּיאוּ אֶת־צוֹאֲרֵיכֶם בַּעֲלָהּ (“bring your necks under the yoke”) in an implicit allusion to Jer 27:12 (34:10). Together, the three words צוֹאֵר („neck“), עַל („yoke“) and בּוֹא *hiphil* occur in pre-Rabbinic Hebrew literature only in Jer-MT 27:12; Sir 51:26; and 4QBarkhi

<sup>103</sup> Thus Peters, *Ecclesiasticus*, 282.

<sup>104</sup> Cf. Smend, *Weisheit*, 470; Box and Oesterley, “Sirach,” 504-05; Caird, “Ben Sira,” 99. Against Wright, *Difference*, 204, who thinks that καὶ κακοῦν points for Sir-LXX to a Hebrew text which did not have וְלִנְתֹּן.

Nafshi<sup>c</sup> (4Q438) 3 3. In Greek Jewish literature Bar 2:21 employs Jer 27:12 (34:10): Bar 2:21 seems to be base of the Hebrew parent of Jer-LXX. Textual damages make the analysis of 4QBarkhi Nafshi<sup>c</sup> (4Q438) 3 3 difficult. Sir 51:26 uses the metaphor of the yoke to recommend the untutored one to put his neck under the yoke of wisdom so that he may gain sapiential education. Ben Sira alludes to Jer 27:12 (34:10), because in this Jeremiah text the metaphor of the yoke describes the violent rule of Nebuchadnezzar. By alluding to Jer 27:12 (34:10), Ben Sira wants to express how arduous and even painful sapiential education can be, i.e. as painful as Nebuchadnezzar's conquests and reign was for Judah. This comparison agrees well with Sir 30:1-13 (cf. Sir 22:6)—a text that illustrates how much Ben Sira was in favor of physical punishment as an educational device.

The differences between the Hebrew text of Sir 51:26 and Jer 27:12 (34:10) go back to textual changes made by Ben Sira. He moved וצואריכם to the beginning of his allusion in order to emphasize the element of suffering under the yoke of wisdom while learning. For stylistic reasons Ben Sira removed also the object marker את out of the allusion. With the single exception of Sir 43:33, Ben Sira avoids the use of this object marker at the beginning of a verse. Ben Sira also replaces the מַלְךְ-בָּבֶל ("the yoke of the king of Babel") out of Jer 27:12 (34:10) with the suffix of the third person feminine בעלה "her yoke") as he does not speak about submission to the rule of the Babylonian king but about submission to wisdom.

Although all textual differences between Ben Sira and Jer-MT 27:12 are due to changes introduced by Ben Sira himself into his allusion to this text, Sir 51:26 is nevertheless of text-critical interest for the book of Jeremiah. The Jeremiah Septuagint is distinct from Jer-MT and the Hebrew text of Sir 51:26 in lacking an equivalent for בעל in its rendering Εἰσαγάγετε τὸν τράχηλον ὑμῶν. The Hebrew text of Sir 51:26 reads thus with Jer-MT against Jer-LXX.

The grandson's rendering of Sir 51:26 is relatively free. For the implicit allusion to Jer 27:12 (34:10) two textual differences to the Hebrew text of his grandfather are of interest. The grandson uses the singular τράχηλον ὑμῶν for the plural form וצואריכם of his grandfather. Furthermore, he lacks in ὑπὸ ζυγόν ("under a yoke") an equivalent for the suffix of his grandfather's בעלה ("her yoke").

Despite all these differences to Ben Sira's Hebrew text, and against the Jeremiah Septuagint, the grandson has a Greek equivalent for בעל in his rendering of Sir 51:26. As compared to Jer-LXX 34:10, he also employs a different verb in his translation of Sir 51:26, i.e. ὑπόθετε instead of εἰσαγάγετε: τὸν τράχηλον ὑμῶν ὑπόθετε ὑπὸ ζυγόν ("place your neck under a yoke").

Nevertheless the grandson does consider the text of Jer-LXX 34:10 in how he renders the וצואריכם of Ben Sira. The grandson replaces the Hebrew plural form which Ben Sira incorporated out of Jer-MT 27:12 with the Greek singular τὸν τράχηλον ὑμῶν and like Jer-LXX 34:10 he does not read a καὶ

before τὸν τράχηλον although Ben Sira begins Sir 51:36 with the conjunction *waw*.<sup>105</sup>

### 3.2. *Jeremiah in other Hebrew Texts of Ben Sira*

After Ben Sira composed the original version of his book, its textual tradition is characterized by a history of textual growth and textual changes. As a part of this history of textual growth and change more intertextual references to Jeremiah were added to the book of Ben Sira. In the extant Hebrew manuscripts of Ben Sira these additional employments of Jeremiah include an implicit quotation of six words from Jer 5:27 in the ms A text of Sir 11:29 and an implicit allusion which includes three words from Jer 1:18 in Sir 36:29(24) (mss B<sup>m</sup>, D). Both quotations read with Jer-MT against Jer-LXX.<sup>106</sup> For the Syriac translation, Middendorp identified in Sir 36:2 also an additional quotation of Jer 10:25.<sup>107</sup>

#### *Jer 1:18 in Sir 36:29(24) (mss B, C, D)*

(ms B and B<sup>m</sup>) משען ועמוד<sup>Bm</sup> עיר מבצר<sup>Bm</sup> עיר מבצר<sup>Bm</sup> קנה<sup>Bm</sup> קונה<sup>Bm</sup> אשה ראשית קנין עזר ומבצר

(ms C) [קנה] אשה ראשית קנין קנה עיר מבצר<sup>oo</sup> מנה משען העמיד

(ms D) קנה אשה ר' [אשית] ק[נין] עיר מבצר ועמוד מ[שען] י

He who acquires a wife is at the beginning of acquisition, a helper and a fortification<sup>Bm</sup> a fortified city<sup>Bm</sup> and a pillar of support. (Sir 36:24 ms B and B<sup>m</sup>)

He who acquires a wife is at the beginning of acquisition, acquires a fortified city and [...] a support which makes (him) stand firm (Sir 36:24 ms C)

He who acquires a wife is at the b[eginning] of ac[quisiti]on, a fortified city and a pillar of s[uppor]t. (Sir 36:24 ms D)

ὁ κτῶμενος γυναῖκα ἐνάρχεται κτήσεως, βοηθὸν κατ' αὐτὸν καὶ στῦλον ἀναπαύσεως.

<sup>105</sup> Peters, *Ecclesiasticus*, 282, and Skehan and Di Lella, *Wisdom of Ben Sira*, 576, want to see stylistic reasons for Sir-LXX's deletion of the *waw* at the beginning of Sir 51:26, i.e. that it would result in more coherent acrostic pattern for the alphabet song in Sirach 51 (cf. G. Bickell, "Ein alphabetisches Lied Jesus Sirach's," *ZTK* 6 [1882]: 319-33). Such a stylistic device would make little sense in the Greek though and ms B is incoherent in the alphabetic sequence of Sir 51:13-29.

<sup>106</sup> Middendorp, *Stellung*, 40, wants to understand the phrase מרע אל רע in Sir 13:20(21; cf. Sir-Syr) as a secondary employment of Jer 9:2. But Jer 9:2 reads מְרַעָה אֶל־רַעָה and not מרע אל רע. The implicit quotation of Jer 5:27 in the ms A-text of Sir 11:29 makes for this manuscript a verbal employment of Jeremiah in cases of secondary dependencies more likely. Furthermore the phrase in question is so general that an intertextual dependency does not need to be supposed. Middendorp, *Stellung*, 44, argues for Sir 40:30: "כאש בוערת" hat B marg offenbar aus Jer 20,9 herangezogen." Middendorp overlooks in his argument that the phrase is attested by MasSir as well. In addition, כאש בוערת is only a two word parallel describing a burning fire. The parallel to Jer 20:9 observed by Middendorp in Sir 40:30 does not qualify for an intertextual relationship because it is too general and too small.

<sup>107</sup> Middendorp, *Stellung*, 42.

He who acquires a wife makes a beginning of a possession, a helper corresponding to him and a pillar of rest. (Sir-LXX 36:29)

וְאָנִי הֵנָּה נִתְמַיֵּד הַיּוֹם לְעִיר מְבֻצָּר וְלְעֶמֶד בְּרוֹזָל וְלִחְמוֹת נְחֹשֶׁת עַל-כָּל-הָאָרֶץ לְמַלְכֵי יְהוּדָה לְשָׂרֵיהֶּ לְכַהֲנֵיהֶּ וְלַעַם הָאָרֶץ:

And I, behold, I made you today into a fortified city and into an iron pillar and into a bronze wall against the whole land regarding the kings of Judah, regarding its princes, regarding its priests, and regarding the people of the land. (Jer-MT 1:18)

ἰδοὺ τέθεικά σε ἐν τῇ σήμερον ἡμέρᾳ ὡς πύλιν ὀχυρὰν καὶ ὡς τεῖχος χαλκοῦν ὀχυρὸν πᾶσι τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν Ἰουδα καὶ τοῖς ἄρχουσιν αὐτοῦ καὶ τῷ λαῷ τῆς γῆς

Behold, I have made you in this very day like a firm city and like a firm bronze wall, to all the kings of Iouda and its rulers and the people of the land. (Jer-LXX 1:18)

In Sir 36:29(24), mss D and B<sup>m</sup> include a three word parallel to Jer 1:18 (עיר מבצר ועמוד “a fortified city and a column”). Ms C has only עיר מבצר (“a fortified city”) and represents probably a corrupted version of the text of mss D and B<sup>m</sup>. That ms C inserts the word קִנָּה points to a harmonizing version of Sir 36:29(24) in ms C.<sup>108</sup> Most likely, the scribe of ms C changed ועמוד into חֶעֱמִיד. In the combination עיר מבצר ועמוד, the three words in question occur only in Jer 1:18 and Sir 36:29(24) in pre-Rabbinic Hebrew literature. The parallel should thus be classified as an implicit allusion to Jer 1:18.<sup>109</sup> But that the textual tradition of Sir 36:29(24) is full of variant readings makes the evaluation of this parallel difficult. Most likely, Ben Sira read originally with the running text of ms B עזר ומבצר ועמוד (“a helper and a fortification and a pillar”).<sup>110</sup> This use of the word עזר in combination with the word אִשָּׁה reminded Ben Sira’s grandson of Gen 2:18. He incorporated hence the language of Gen-LXX 2:18 in his rendition of Sir 36:29(24) and changed the עזר ומבצר of the Hebrew text to βοηθὸν κατ’ αὐτὸν (“a helper corresponding to him”) creating thus an allusion to Gen-LXX 2:18.<sup>111</sup>

The scribe, who was responsible for the text of Sir 36:29(24) preserved in mss D and B<sup>m</sup>, was reminded of Jer-MT 1:18 by the word pair עיר מבצר ועמוד and changed the text of Sir 36:29(24) to עיר מבצר ועמוד in allusion to Jer 1:18.<sup>112</sup> When the reading עיר מבצר ועמוד was introduced into the Hebrew text of Ben Sira is unknown. The implicit allusion to Jer 1:18 in Sir 36:29(24) is thus of limited value for the textual history of the book of Jeremiah in the Second Temple period.

<sup>108</sup> For the textual character of ms C, see Corley, “An Alternative Hebrew Form,” passim.

<sup>109</sup> Cf. Middendorp, *Stellung*, 69.

<sup>110</sup> Against Skehan and Di Lella, *Wisdom of Ben Sira*, 427, who conjecture the original text to be עזר כַּעֲצֻמוֹ.

<sup>111</sup> Cf. Peters, *Ecclesiasticus*, 144; Box and Oesterley, “Sirach,” 443; Wright, *Difference*, 164.

<sup>112</sup> Cf. Minissale, *La versione greca*, 170.



The Sirach text of mss D and B<sup>m</sup> employed Jer 1:18 in Sir 36:29(24) clearly according to Jer-MT. For the scribe who created the text of mss D and B<sup>m</sup> in Sir 36:29(24), the original association with Jer 1:18 was only possible because his Jeremiah text included in Jer 1:18 the word גְּלַעְמוֹד. This word has no equivalent in Jer-LXX 1:18. Mss D and B<sup>m</sup> read in Sir 36:29 (24) hence with Jer-MT against Jer-LXX. That mss D and B<sup>m</sup> lack two times the preposition ל does not argue against such an affiliation with Jer-MT but is due to the original text of Ben Sira. To introduce the preposition ל into Sir 36:29(24) would have resulted in a senseless text.

*Jer 5:27 in Sir 11:29*

כְּכֹלִיב מְלֵא עוֹף כֵּן בְּתֵיָּהֶם מְלֵאִים [...] <sup>113</sup>

Like a cage full of birds so are their houses full of [...] (Sir 11:29 ms A)<sup>113</sup>  
> Sir-LXX

כְּכֹלִיב מְלֵא עוֹף כֵּן בְּתֵיָּהֶם מְלֵאִים מְרֻמָּה עַל־כֵּן גָּדְלוּ וַיִּשְׁשִׁירוּ: <sup>28</sup>שָׁמְנוּ עֲשָׂתוּ

Like a cage full of birds so are their houses full of treachery, therefore they became great and rich, <sup>28</sup> they have grown fat and shiny. (Jer-MT 5:27-28)

ὥς παγὶς ἐφεσταμένη πλήρης πετεινῶν, οὕτως οἱ οἶκοι αὐτῶν πλήρεις δόλου· διὰ τοῦτο ἐμεγαλύνθησαν καὶ ἐπλούτησαν·

Like a trap, when set up, is full of birds so are their houses full of deception. Because of this they became great and rich. (Jer-LXX 5:27)

The part of Sir 11:29 quoted above is one of the long texts of ms A as compared to Sir-LXX. It should therefore be regarded as part of the later additions of the H II text of Ben Sira. The six word verbal parallel between Sir 11:29 ms A and Jer-MT 5:27 qualifies this intertextual reference as an implicit quotation of Jer 5:27 in Sir 11:29 ms A.<sup>114</sup> Originally it was most likely a marginal gloss.<sup>115</sup> A scribe was reminded by the use of the words עוֹף and כְּלִיב in Sir 11:30 of Jer 5:27 and noted the text of Jer 5:27a or maybe even the whole verse in the margin of his manuscript. When his manuscript was copied by another scribe the text of Jer 5:27a became part of the running text of Sir 11:29 because this later scribe misunderstood the gloss as a scribal correction. Although Reiterer speculates<sup>116</sup> that some of the additions of the H II text might go back to Ben Sira himself, it remains far from certain if this is true for the parallel to Jer 5:27 in Sir 11:29.

<sup>113</sup> Text quoted according to the edition of E. N. Adler, "Some Missing Chapters of Ben Sira," *JQR* 12 (1900): 466-480, 471. Beentjes, *Book of Ben Sira*, 38, notes instead of the word עוֹף a lacuna.

<sup>114</sup> Peters, *Ecclesiasticus*, 63; Skehan and Di Lella, *Wisdom of Ben Sira*, 244; J. Marböck, *Jesus Sirach 1-23: Übersetzt und ausgelegt* (HTKAT; Freiburg i. B.: Herder, 2010), 167.

<sup>115</sup> For the secondary character of this allusion to Jer 5:27 in Sir 11:29, cf. Box and Oesterley, "Sirach," 357; Middendorp, *Stellung*, 39.

<sup>116</sup> See above n. 28.

A *terminus ante quem* as to when Jer 5:27 was inserted into the Hebrew textual tradition of Ben Sira can be gained from *Talmud Babli Sandherin*. In *bSan* 100b, Jer 5:27 is quoted by Rabbi Joseph as part of a debate about the authority of Ben Sira. In discussion with Rabbi Abaye, Rabbi Joseph gives in the early 4<sup>th</sup> century C.E. a small selection of Ben Sira references and mentions among them Jer 5:27 as if belonging to Ben Sira. The most likely explanation is that Rabbi Joseph did quote Jer 5:27 already out of the Book of Ben Sira. This means he perused a copy of Ben Sira or an oral tradition which included already an implicit quotation of Jer 5:27 in Sir 11:29.<sup>117</sup> Although no certainty can be reached as to when the original gloss was noted at the margin of a Hebrew Sirach manuscript, the Talmudic debate about Ben Sira between Rabbis Abaye and Joseph, argues against a date later than the early 4<sup>th</sup> century C.E. For the textual history of the Book of Jeremiah the implicit quotation of Jer 5:27 in Sir 11:29 ms A is thus of limited value.

At least one textual difference between the Jer-MT and Jer-LXX 5:27 can be observed among the six words quoted in Sir 11:29 ms A.<sup>118</sup> With Jer-MT, Sir 11:29 does not have a Hebrew equivalent for the Greek word ἐφestaμένη (“when set up”) in Jer-LXX 5:27.

### 3.3. *Jeremiah in the Hebrew Texts of Ben Sira – A Conclusion*

Above I have already emphasized that in the H I text of Ben Sira 12 allusions to and quotations of Jeremiah preserve 37 words of ancient Jeremiah

<sup>117</sup> That Rabbi Joseph regarded the implicit quotation of Jer 5:27 in Sir 11:29 as a part of the book of Ben Sira seems also to be suggested by Solomon Schechter when he includes the text in his edition of Rabbinic Ben Sira quotations (“The Quotations from Ecclesiasticus in Rabbinic Literature,” *JQR* 3 [1890-91]: 682-706, 692), as well as by Segal when he states “Similarly, they ascribe to Ben Sira Jer. 5.27, Sanh., l. c., which has also been introduced into our Heb., 11.29c-d” (“Evolution,” 135). B. G. Wright, “B. Sanhedrin 100b and Rabbinic Knowledge of Ben Sira,” in B. G. Wright, *Praise Israel for Wisdom and Instruction: Essays on Ben Sira and Wisdom, the Letter of Aristeas and the Septuagint* (JSJSup 131; Leiden: Brill, 2008), 186, thinks that the Talmudic list of references motivated a scribe to add Jer 5:27 to the Hebrew text of Ben Sira. For an instructive interpretation of the Rabbis’ debates about the book of Ben Sira in *bSan* 100b, see G. Veltri, *Libraries, Translations, and “Canonic” Texts: The Septuagint, Aquila and Ben Sira in the Jewish and Christian Traditions* (JSJSup 109; Leiden: Brill, 2006), 214-218, and esp. J. R. Labendz, “The Book of Ben Sira in Rabbinic Literature,” *AJSR* 30 (2006): 347-392, 356-363.

<sup>118</sup> Fischer and Vonach, “Jeremias,” 1295, want to understand Jer-LXX’s rendition *παγίς* for *כליב* in Jer-MT 5:27 as a variant reading. It is true that *כליב* is rendered only in Jer 5:27 with *παγίς* (“trap”). But the word *כליב* is rare and occurs otherwise in texts which have been translated into Greek only in Amos 8:1.2 and Sir 11:30. The two translators disagree in how to render it. Amos-LXX 8:1.2 employ *ἄγγος* (“container”) and Sir-LXX 11:30 uses *κάραλλος* (“basket”). *Παγίς* can thus not be excluded as a free rendition of *כליב*. The plural form *πετεινῶν* (“birds”) for the singular *עוף* (“birds”) in Jer-LXX 5:27 should also not be understood as a textual variant, because Jer-LXX renders the collective singular *עוף* coherently with plural forms of the word *πετεινός* (Jer 4:25; 7:33; 9:9[10]; 12:4; 15:3; 16:4; 19:7; 34[41]:20).

text. In the case of four of these quotations and allusions textual differences between Jer-MT and Jer-LXX exist in the quoted or alluded Jeremiah text. The H I text of Ben Sira reads in these cases three times with Jer-MT against Jer-LXX and one time with several Masoretic manuscripts, Jer-V, Jer-Syr, and Jer-LXX against Jer-MT.

*Jer 1:10 and 31(38):28*

Sir 49:7 (ms B) להרס ולקרוס || > Jer-MT 1:10 and 31(38):28 (להרס ולקרוס) || > Jer-LXX and Sir-LXX

*Jer 1:10*

Sir 49:7 לבנת וכן MT<sup>Kenn 1, 109, 191, 244</sup> לקבנות LXX (καὶ ἀνοικοδομεῖν), V, P] MT לקבנות

*Jer 18:6*

Sir 36(33):13 (ms E) כחמר ביד ה' יוצר || Sir-LXX ὡς πηλὸς κεραμέως ἐν χειρὶ αὐτοῦ; Jer-MT 18:6 כחמר ביד ה' יוצר || Jer-LXX 18:6 ὡς ὁ πηλὸς τοῦ κεραμέως

*Jer 27:12 (34:10)*

Sir 51:26 (ms B) בעלה,<sup>119</sup> Sir-LXX ὑπὸ ζυγόν with Jer-MT בעל || > Jer-LXX

In all four cases, Ben Sira employs a text of Jeremiah which reads with the consonantal text of Jer-MT or at least with a significant part of the Masoretic textual tradition. Although the statistical data is sparse, it seems likely to me, that Ben Sira based his allusions to and quotations of Jeremiah on a text which was close to the consonantal text of Jer-MT. Ben Sira compares thus well with the Qumran *Hodayot* and the Qumran *War Scroll*. For both I have shown elsewhere that they also consistently employ a proto- or semi-Masoretic text of Jeremiah.<sup>120</sup>

After the H I text of Ben Sira was completed ancient or medieval scribes added at least one implicit quotation of (Jer 5:27 in Sir 11:29) and one implicit allusion (Jer 1:18 in Sir 36:29[24]) to the book of Jeremiah into the text of Ben Sira. These employments include two readings with Jer-MT against Jer-LXX.

*Jer 1:18*

Sir 36:29(24) mss D, and B<sup>m</sup> ועמוד Jer-MT ועמוד || > Jer-LXX

*Jer 5:27*

Sir 11:29 (ms A) ככלוב; Jer MT ככלוב || ὡς παγὶς ἐφεσταμένη Jer-LXX

<sup>119</sup> The suffix of the third person feminine singular is due to the textflow of Sir 51:26 and does not mark a variant reading.

<sup>120</sup> Cf. Lange, "Textual History," passim, and idem, "Text of Jeremiah," passim.

#### 4. *The Book of Jeremiah in the Greek Translation of Ben Sira*

My analysis of the H I text of Jeremiah demonstrated that Ben Sira's grandson employed the Old Greek text of Jeremiah to translate some of his grandfather's Jeremiah allusions and quotations. In Sir 36(33):13 (Jer 18:6); 49:7 (Jer 1:5; 1:10; 31[38]:28); and Sir 51:26 (Jer 27:12[34:10]) the grandson even adjusted his grandfather's text to the Old Greek text of Jeremiah. In Sir 12:18 (Jer 5:31) and Sir 4:9 (Jer 21:12 and 22:3) the grandson inserted additional uses of the book of Jeremiah into the text of his grandfather. In both cases the Hebrew text of his grandfather is preserved.

Jer 1:5	Sir 49:7	explicit allusion
Jer 1:10	Sir 49:7	explicit quotation
Jer 5:31	Sir 12:18	implicit allusion (not in Sir-HI)
Jer 21:12 and 22:3	Sir 4:9	implicit allusion (not in Sir-HI)
Jer 18:6	Sir 36(33):13	implicit allusion
Jer 27:12 (34:10)	Sir 51:26	implicit allusion
Jer 31(38):28	Sir 49:7	implicit allusion

Above, I have discussed already the grandson's use of the Old Greek text of Jeremiah in rendering his grandfather's employments of Jer 1:5; 1:10 and 31(38):28 in Sir 49:7; of Jer 18:6 in Sir 36(33):13 (Jer 18:6); and of Jer 27:12 (34:10) in Sir 51:26. I will therefore only summarize my results for these employments here.

- Jer 1:5 in Sir 49:7: The grandson rendered the נוצר ("he was created [by God]") of his grandfather with the Greek word ἡγιάσθη ("he was hallowed") corresponding to the ἡγίασα of Jer-LXX 1:5. In this way, the grandson realigns a part of his grandfather's text which he found at variance with Jer 1:10 with the Old Greek text of Jeremiah.
- Jer 1:10 and 31(38):28 in Sir 49:7: In Sir 49:7, Ben Sira created a complex intertextual web by alluding to Jer 1:5; 18:7-9; 31(38):28, and by quoting a part of Jer 1:10. In these verses, the wording of Jer-LXX did not allow Ben Sira's grandson to recreate his grandfather's intertextuality in a one on one translation which is based on the Old Greek text of Jeremiah. The grandson took therefore the words ἐκρίζουσιν (for לַנְתוּר), ἀπολλύειν (for לְהַאֲבִיד), and καταφτυτεύειν (for לִנְטֵעַ) out of Jer-LXX 1:10 to mark his grandfathers main base text. To allow for the recognition of Jer 31(38):28 in his Greek translation of Sir 49:7, the grandson replaced the ἀνοικοδομεῖν (for לְבָנוֹת) of Jer-LXX 1:10 with the οἰκοδομεῖν (for לְבָנוֹת) of Jer-LXX 38(31):28. Furthermore, the grandson renders the ולנתור of Sir 49:7 (cf. Jer-MT 1:10 and 31:28) not as καὶ κατασκάπτειν like Jer-LXX 1:10 but as καὶ κακοῦν. In this translation, the grandson is not only inspired by the ἐκάκωσαν at the beginning of Sir 49:7 but also by the use

of this word in Jer-LXX 38(31):28 where καὶ κακοῦν translates וְלָהָרַע. Different from the H I text of Ben Sira, the grandson did not recreate his grandfathers implicit allusion to Jer 18:7-9 in the Greek translation of Sir 49:7. The grandson found no way to both adjust the Old Greek translation of Jer 18:7-9 to the wording of Jer-LXX 1:10 and 38:28 and to keep such an adjusted text of Jer-LXX 18:7-9 recognizable for his readership.

- Jer 18:6 in Sir 36(33):13: In his allusion to Jer 18:6 in Sir 36(33):13, Ben Sira himself reads with Jer-MT בִּיד יוצר. Jer-LXX does not have an equivalent for בִּיד. Although the grandson does translate the word בִּיד from his grandfather's text he does not imitate the construct compound כַּחַמֵּר בִּיד יוצר of his grandfather by translating ὡς πηλὸς ἐν χειρὶ κεραμέως but renders בִּיד as ἐν χειρὶ αὐτοῦ instead: ὡς πηλὸς κεραμέως ἐν χειρὶ αὐτοῦ. In this way, the grandson created a Greek equivalent for the construct compound of his father which imitates the Jeremiah Septuagint's translation of the second occurrence of the word יד in Jer 18:6 (ἐν χερσὶ μου "in my hands").
- Jer 27:12 (34:10) in Sir 51:26: The grandson uses a different equivalent for הִבִּיאוּ than Jer-LXX does in Jer 34:10, i.e. ὑπόθετε instead of the εἰσαγάγετε in Jer-LXX. Different from Jer-LXX the grandson has a Greek equivalent for בַּעֲלָה, i.e. ὑπὸ ζυγόν. Although the grandson produced thus an independent translation of his grandfather's implicit allusion to Jer 27:12 (34:10) in Sir 51:26, he nevertheless adjusts his grandfather's text in two details to the Old Greek text of Jeremiah. The grandson renders the Hebrew plural form וְצוּרֵיכֶם with Jer-LXX 34:10 as the Greek singular τὸν τράχηλον ὑμῶν and with Jer-LXX 34:10 he does not read a καὶ before τὸν τράχηλον although Ben Sira begins Sir 51:26 with the conjunction waw.

#### *Jer 5:31 in Sir 12:18*

ראש יניע והניף ידו ולרוב הלחש ישנא פנים:

(His) head he will shake and his hand he will wave and for many charms he will change his face (Sir 12:18 ms A)

τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ κινήσει καὶ ἐπικροτήσῃ ταῖς χερσὶν αὐτοῦ καὶ πολλὰ διαψιθυρίσει καὶ ἀλλοιώσῃ τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ.

His head he will shake and he will clap his hands and he will whisper many (things) and alter his face (Sir-LXX 12:18)

הַנְּבִיאִים נִבְּאוּ בְּשֶׁקֶר וְהַכֹּהֲנִים יִרְדּוּ עַל-יְדֵיהֶם וְעַמִּי אֶהְיֶה כֵן וְמִה-תַּעֲשׂוּ לְאַחֲרֵיהֶּהָ

The prophets prophesy falsehood and the priests clap their hands and my people love it like this. But what will you do at the end of it? (Jer-MT 5:31)

οἱ προφηταὶ προφητεύουσιν ἄδικα, καὶ οἱ ἱερεῖς ἐπεκρότησαν<sup>121</sup> ταῖς χερσὶν αὐτῶν, καὶ ὁ λαὸς μου ἠγάπησεν οὕτως· καὶ τί ποιήσετε εἰς τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα;

<sup>121</sup> Ziegler emends ἐπεκρότησαν in his edition of Jeremiah to ἐπεκράτησαν (J. Ziegler, *Jeremias, Baruch, Threni, Epistula Jeremiae* [Septuaginta Vetus Testamentum Graecum 15;

The prophets prophesy injustice and the priests clap their hands and my people love it like this. But what will you do after these (things)? (Jer-LXX 5:31)

The only word the Hebrew texts of Sir 12:18 and Jer 5:31 share is  $\gamma$ . This lack of verbal parallels excludes an intertextual relationship between the verses in the Hebrew versions of Jeremiah and Ben Sira. But in the Greek versions of Jeremiah and Ben Sira such an intertextual relationship seems likely. The only two references in Greek Jewish literature of the Second Temple period which combine a form of  $\epsilon\pi\kappa\rho\tau\acute{\epsilon}\omega$  with forms of the words  $\chi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\rho$  and  $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$  are Jer-LXX 5:31 and Sir-LXX 12:18. The parallel is all the more remarkable as  $\kappa\alpha\iota \epsilon\pi\kappa\rho\tau\acute{\eta}\sigma\epsilon\iota \tau\alpha\acute{\iota}\varsigma \chi\epsilon\rho\sigma\acute{\iota}\nu \alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{o}\upsilon$  is not a good equivalent for Ben Sira's  $\text{וְהַנִּיחַ יָדוֹ}$ . Ben Sira's  $\text{יָדוֹ}$  is clearly a singular form while the grandson's  $\tau\alpha\acute{\iota}\varsigma \chi\epsilon\rho\sigma\acute{\iota}\nu \alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{o}\upsilon$  construes the Greek word  $\chi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\rho$  in the plural. Furthermore, the Hebrew root  $\text{נָחַ$  I signifies in the *hiphil* a shaking (of hands)<sup>122</sup> while the Greek word  $\epsilon\pi\kappa\rho\tau\acute{\epsilon}\omega$  implies a clapping (of hands). The best explanation for the evidence is that the grandson employed the Old Greek text of Jer 5:31 in his translation of Sir 12:18.<sup>123</sup> In doing so he introduced an implicit allusion to Jer-LXX 5:31 into the text of Sir 12:18. He might have felt entitled to do so, because his grandfather employed in Sir 12:15-18 various passages from the Jewish scriptures in a kind of inventory of dissimulation and hypocrisy.<sup>124</sup> The grandson increases this intertextuality by adding one more allusion which evoked the hypocrisy of false prophets and priests described in Jer 5:31.

*Jer 21:12 and 22:3 in Sir 4:9*<sup>125</sup>

הושע מוצק ממציקיו ואל תקוץ רוחך במשפט יושר

Deliver the oppressed from his oppressor and do not dread your spirit when a righteous is in court. (Sir 4:9 ms A)

$\epsilon\chi\epsilon\lambda\omicron\upsilon \acute{\alpha}\delta\iota\kappa\omicron\upsilon\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\nu \epsilon\kappa \chi\epsilon\iota\rho\acute{o}\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\delta\iota\kappa\omicron\upsilon\acute{\nu}\tau\omicron\varsigma$  καὶ μὴ ὀλιγοψυχίῃς ἐν τῷ κρίνειν σε.

Rescue the wronged one out the hand of the one who wrongs (him) and do not become disheartened when you render judgment. (Sir-LXX 4:9)

Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1957], 176). Ziegler bases this emendation on a remark in J. F. Schleusner, *Novus Thesaurus philologico-criticus sive Lexicon in LXX, et reliquos interpretes graecos, ac scriptores apocryphos Veteris Testamenti* (3 vols.; rev. enl. ed.; London: J. Ducan, 1829), 1:862, who refers in turn to Louis Cappel and Lambertus Bos. Ziegler cannot provide manuscript evidence for the reading  $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\kappa\rho\acute{\alpha}\tau\eta\sigma\alpha\nu$  in Jer 5:31. The emendation remains thus speculation. It needs to be asked whether Cappel, Bos, Schleusner, and Ziegler are not guided by Ezek 29:7 in their emendation.

<sup>122</sup> Cf. Clines, *Concise Dictionary*, 266.

<sup>123</sup> Against Smend, *Weisheit*, 120, who describes the translation  $\epsilon\pi\kappa\rho\tau\acute{\eta}\sigma\epsilon\iota$  as “willkürlich.”

<sup>124</sup> Cf. Marböck, *Jesus Sirach 1-23*, 171.

<sup>125</sup> Parallels between Jer 21:12 and 22:3 in the Hebrew and Greek versions respectively are underlined, parallels with Sir 4:9 are highlighted in gray.

בֵּית דָּוִד כֹּה אָמַר יְהוָה דִּינוּ לַבֹּקֶר מִשְׁפָּט וְהַצִּילוּ גְזוֹל מִיַּד עוֹשֶׂק פְּנֵי־תֹצֵא כָאֵשׁ חֲמָתִי וּבְעֶרְהָ נֶאֱחָז מִכֶּכֶּה מִפְּנֵי רֵעַ מַעֲלִילֵיהֶם

House David, thus says the Lord: Execute justice in the morning and rescue the robbed one from the hand of (his) oppressor, lest like fire my wrath will come forth and burn—and no one to extinguish it—because of the evil of their deeds. (Jer-MT 21:12)

οἶκος Δαυὶδ, τάδε λέγει κύριος Κρίνατε τὸ πρωὶ κρίμα καὶ κατευθύνετε καὶ ἐξέλεσθε<sup>126</sup> διηρπασμένον ἐκ χειρὸς ἀδικοῦντος αὐτόν, ὅπως μὴ ἀναφθῇ ὡς πῦρ ἡ ὀργή μου καὶ καυθήσεται, καὶ οὐκ ἔσται ὁ σβέσων.

House David, thus says the Lord: Execute judgment in the morning and guide and rescue the robbed one out of the hand of the one who wrongs him, lest that my wrath be kindled like fire and burn, and there will be no one to extinguish (it). (Jer-LXX 21:12)

כֹּה אָמַר יְהוָה עֲשׂוּ מִשְׁפָּט וְצִדְקָה וְהַצִּילוּ גְזוֹל מִיַּד עוֹשֶׂק וְגַר יְתוֹם וְאַל־תִּנְנוּ אֶל־תַּחֲמָסוֹ וְדָם נָקִי אֶל־תִּשְׁפְּכוּ בַּמָּקוֹם הַזֶּה:

Thus says the Lord: Do justice and righteousness, and rescue the robbed one from the hand of (his) oppressor. A foreigner, an orphan, and a widow do not oppress, do not treat (them) violently, and do not shed innocent blood in this place. (Jer-MT 22:3)

Τάδε λέγει κύριος Ποιεῖτε κρίσιν καὶ δικαιοσύνην καὶ ἐξαιρεῖσθε διηρπασμένον ἐκ χειρὸς ἀδικοῦντος αὐτόν καὶ προσήλυτον καὶ ὀρφανὸν καὶ χήραν μὴ καταδυναστεύετε καὶ μὴ ἀσεβεῖτε καὶ αἷμα ἄθῳον μὴ ἐκχέητε ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τούτῳ.

Thus says the Lord: Do justice and righteousness, and rescue the robbed one out of the hand of the one who wrongs him. A foreigner, an orphan, and a widow do not oppress or act impiously against (them), and do not shed innocent blood in this place. (Jer-LXX 22:3)

The second example for an intertextuality which exists only between Jer-LXX and Sir-LXX is Sir-LXX 4:9 versus Jer-LXX 21:12; 22:3. In the Hebrew text of Jeremiah, Jer 21:12 and 22:3 share the words כֹּה אָמַר יְהוָה (“thus says the Lord”), מִשְׁפָּט (“justice”) and וְהַצִּילוּ גְזוֹל מִיַּד עוֹשֶׂק (“rescue the robbed one from the hand of his oppressor”) in almost verbal parallel. For עוֹשֶׂק, Jer-MT 21:12 employs the participle עוֹשֶׂק while Jer-MT 22:3 uses the noun עוֹשֶׂק. The Jeremiah Septuagint attests to similar verbal parallels (τάδε λέγει κύριος ... καὶ ἐξέλεσθε διηρπασμένον ἐκ χειρὸς ἀδικοῦντος αὐτόν) but lacks parallel equivalents for עוֹשֶׂק in the two verses (κρίμα in Jer-LXX 21:12 and κρίσιν in Jer-LXX 22:3). Jer-LXX 21:12 and 22:3 differ only in the grammatical forms of the verb ἐξαίρεω (ἐξέλεσθε in Jer-LXX 21:12 and ἐξαιρεῖσθε in Jer-LXX 22:3). In the Hebrew text of Ben Sira, Sir 4:9 and Jer 21:12; 22:3 are comparable in content but have not one word in

<sup>126</sup> Ziegler, *Jeremias*, 255, wants to omit καὶ ἐξέλεσθε as a “lectio duplex.” Although the Hebrew reads only וְהַצִּילוּ in Jer 21:12 which Jer-LXX translates as κατευθύνετε it seems more likely to me that καὶ ἐξέλεσθε goes back to the original translator. A later corrector who wished to harmonize the wording of Jer-LXX 21:12 with Jer-LXX 22:3 could have as easily replaced the ἐξέλεσθε by κατευθύνετε.

common. Ben Sira expresses his advice to “deliver the oppressed from his oppressor” in a different Hebrew vocabulary (הושע מוצק ממציקיו)<sup>127</sup> than Jer-MT 21:12; 22:3. When Ben Sira’s grandson translated הושע מוצק ממציקיו of his grandfather into Greek, he employed the rhetoric of Jer-LXX 21:12; 22:3 (ἐξέλοῦ ἀδικοῦμενον ἐκ χειρὸς ἀδικοῦντος “Rescue the wronged one out the hand of the one who wrongs [him]”). In this way the grandson created an implicit allusion to Jer-LXX 21:12; 22:3 which enforces his grandfather’s teaching with the authority of Jeremiah’s admonition of the kings of Judah. The grandson might have felt entitled to do so because Ben Sira employs in Sir 4:8-10 references for various parts of the Jewish scriptures to develop his argument.<sup>128</sup>

### 5. Conclusions

In his classic work on the translation technique of the Old Greek text of Ben Sira, Benjamin Wright observes that Ben Sira himself integrated the Jewish scriptures thoroughly into his book,<sup>129</sup> but that this high degree of integration makes it difficult to decide whether Ben Sira referred to written copies of the works he employed. Later on, Wright leaned more towards a memorized use of the Jewish scriptures for Ben Sira.<sup>130</sup> Other scholars, such as Snaith<sup>131</sup> and Middendorp,<sup>132</sup> think that Ben Sira referred to earlier Jewish literature both from memory and based on written copies. For the Old Greek text of Ben Sira, Wright regards it as unlikely “that the grandson depended heavily on the OG for his translations ... When the grandson does use OG terminology, it seems more likely that this use results from familiarity with the material in contexts such as worship or school than from written texts.”<sup>133</sup> Peters and Smend on the other hand claimed that the grandson compared written copies of Old Greek translations of Jewish scriptures with a Hebrew text.<sup>134</sup> My

<sup>127</sup> For the Hebrew text of Sir 4:9 as the original version of this pun, see E. C. Reymond, “Wordplay in the Hebrew to Ben Sira,” in *The Texts and Versions of the Book of Ben Sira* (ed. Rey and Joosten), 37-53, 44.

<sup>128</sup> Cf. Skehan and Di Lella, *Wisdom of Ben Sira*, 167-168.

<sup>129</sup> Wright, *Difference*, 229.

<sup>130</sup> B. G. Wright, “The Use and Interpretation of Biblical Tradition in Ben Sira’s Praise of the Ancestors,” in *Studies in the Book of Ben Sira* (ed. Xeravits and Zsengellér), 183-207, 206.

<sup>131</sup> Snaith, “Biblical Quotations,” 11.

<sup>132</sup> Middendorp, *Stellung*, 35-36.

<sup>133</sup> Wright, *Difference*, 229, 249; idem, “Use and Interpretation,” 205-206; F. V. Reiterer, “Urtext” und Übersetzungen: Sprachstudie über Sir 44,16-45,26 als Beitrag zur Siraforchung (Arbeiten zu Text und Sprache im Alten Testament 12; St. Ottilien: EOS, 1980), 242-249.

<sup>134</sup> Peters, *Ecclesiasticus*, 54\*; Smend, *Weisheit*, lxiii; cf. Caird, “Ben Sira,” passim.



results shed new light on this matter and point to a new avenue of research into the intertextuality of the Hebrew and Greek texts of Ben Sira.

Ben Sira reads either with MT or with at least a part of the MT textual tradition of Jeremiah. Textual differences between Ben Sira and other versions of the book of Jeremiah from the Second Temple period concern mostly small additions in the consonantal text of Jer-MT (Jer 1:10 and 31[38]:28; Jer 18:6; 27:12 [34:10]) or the absence or presence of a *waw* copulativum (Jer 1:10). Given these relatively small textual details it seems likely that Ben Sira consulted a proto- or semi-Masoretic Jeremiah scroll when employing the book of Jeremiah in his own literary work. In previous studies I have shown the same to be true for the employment of the book of Jeremiah in the *War Scroll* and the *Hodayot*.<sup>135</sup> The book of Ben Sira should thus be regarded as another ancient Jewish literary work which is close to the consonantal text of Jer-MT. The importance of this observation for the dating of the (proto-)Masoretic text of Jeremiah will be discussed in a separate publication.

The consonantal text of Jer-MT continued to influence the book of Ben Sira after the sage finalized it. In the Hebrew textual transmission of Ben Sira, scribes noted in marginal glosses to Sir 11:29 and 36:29(24) the text of Jer 5:27 and 1:18 respectively according to Jer-MT. This phenomenon is not restricted to the Hebrew text of Ben Sira but occurs in most if not all of its versions as well.<sup>136</sup> Middendorp<sup>137</sup> mentions the addition of an implicit quotation of Jer 10:25 in Sir-Syr 36:2. Above I have discussed how the grandson added implicit allusions to Jer-LXX 5:31 (Sir 12:18) and Jer-LXX 21:12 par 22:3 (Sir 4:9) as well as to Gen-LXX 2:18 (Sir 36:29[24]) to the Greek translation of Ben Sira's book. In these versions, these later intertextual additions are not restricted to Jer-MT in their textual affiliation. Whether such later additions were inserted (unconsciously) from memory<sup>138</sup> when scribes copied the book of Ben Sira or intentionally and based on written parent texts needs to be decided on a case to case basis.

For the textual history of the Greek text of Jeremiah it is most interesting to note that the grandson adjusted the textual affiliation and even intertextuality of his grandfather's proto/semi-Masoretic Jeremiah quotations and allusions towards the Old Greek text of Jeremiah in Sir 36(33):13 (Jer 18:6); Sir 49:7 (Jer 1:5; 31[38]:28); and Sir 51:26 (Jer 27:12 [34:10]). In addition, he created two implicit allusions to Jer 5:31 in Sir 12:18 and to Jer 21:12 par 22:3 in Sir 4:9. The grandson's textual and intertextual operations reach a level of intertextual complexity and textual detail which makes it again likely that he employed a copy of the Old Greek text of Jeremiah when trans-

<sup>135</sup> Cf. Lange, "Textual History," passim; idem, "Text of Jeremiah," passim.

<sup>136</sup> Cf. Ackroyd, "Criteria," 117; Middendorp, *Stellung*, 35.

<sup>137</sup> Middendorp, *Stellung*, 42.

<sup>138</sup> Thus Middendorp, *Stellung*, 35.

lating his grandfather's book into Greek. My research proves thus against Wright and others that Ben Sira's grandson did refer to written copies of the Old Greek text when translating his grandfather's book. Furthermore, Ben Sira's grandson would have neither been able to understand the intertextuality of his grandfather's work nor would he have been able to adjust them in several cases to the Old Greek text of Jeremiah without in depth knowledge of small textual details of a proto/semi-Masoretic text of Jeremiah. Against Wright and others, it is hence most likely that the grandson was influenced in the translation of his grandfather's intertextuality not only by written copies of the Old Greek texts of the Jewish scriptures but consulted written copies of their Hebrew texts as well during his translation work.

These observations allow me now to answer the initial question of this study regarding an awareness of textual plurality in Ancient Judaism. Because Ben Sira's grandson aligned the text of his grandfather's Jeremiah quotations and allusions to the Old Greek text of Jeremiah and because he most probably used written copies to do so, he was certainly aware of their textual differences. The Greek translation of Ben Sira attests thus to an awareness of and active engagement with the textual plurality of the Jewish scriptures in the Second Temple period. This means, at least in some cases highly educated Jewish scholars were aware of the textual plurality of their scriptures while other scholars which were either less educated or did not have sufficient library resources at their disposal were most probably not.

That Ben Sira's grandson used the Old Greek text of Jeremiah has significant implications for the textual history of the Jeremiah Septuagint. The grandson's Greek translation of Ben Sira can be dated shortly after the year 116 B.C.E.<sup>139</sup> This relatively precise date of the grandson's translation is due to the manner in which he speaks about his stay in Egypt during the reign of Ptolemy VIII Euergetes. The way the grandson employs the word συγχρονισμός ("while I was there at the same time [as Euergetes was king]") in line 28 of his prologue suggests that he wrote his remark about his stay in Egypt shortly after the death of Ptolemy VIII Euergetes,<sup>140</sup> i.e. in the years 117 or 116 B.C.E. If the grandson finished his translation shortly after 117 or 116 B.C.E., his use of the Old Greek text of Jeremiah sets a *terminus ante quem* for

<sup>139</sup> A date for the grandsons translation shortly after the year 117 or 116 B.C.E. was first proposed by U. Wilcken, Review of W. Dittenberger, ed., *Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae, supplementum Sylloges Inscriptionum Graecarum*, vol. 1 (Leipzig: Hirzel, 1903) in *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* 3 (1906): 313-336, 321; cf. idem, "IV. Bibliographie," in *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* 4 (1907): 198-268, 205; N. Peters, *Das Buch Jesus Sirach oder Ecclesiasticus* (EHAT 25, Münster: Aschendorff, 1913), XXXII-XXXIII; Smend, *Weisheit*, 3-4. This date is accepted by many commentators and Ben Sira exegetes, see e.g. Skehan and Di Lella, *Wisdom of Ben Sira*, 8-9; O. Kaiser, *Die alttestamentlichen Apokryphen: Eine Einleitung in Grundzügen* (Gütersloh: Chr. Kaiser, 2000), 83.

<sup>140</sup> Thus first Smend, *Weisheit*, 3.

the Greek translation of the Jeremiah at the end of the second century B.C.E.<sup>141</sup> To discuss the date of the Old Greek text of Jeremiah further exceeds the limits of this article and will have to wait for another publication.

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<sup>141</sup> Cf. Caird, "Ben Sira," 99-100, who supports his argument only with the use of Jer-LXX 1:10; 31:28.

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## *Summary*

Originating in a symposium organized by the Institut Dominique Barthélemy and held on 4-5 November 2011 at the University of Fribourg, Switzerland, this book presents eight essays on the textual and literary history of the Hebrew Bible and the Greek Bible. It is commonplace today to speak of multiple text types in the earliest text history of the Hebrew Bible. But how can this multiplicity be most adequately explained? Does it result from different places, or from different Jewish communities reading texts in parallel text forms (Jews in Jerusalem, Samaritans, Alexandrian Jews, etc.)? Does one have to reckon with different qualities and/or evaluations of certain text forms? In other words, among the different text types known to us, were there some which enjoyed special esteem and recognition in antiquity – and if yes, by whom?

## *Résumé*

Ce livre contient huit essais sur l'histoire textuelle et littéraire de la Bible hébraïque et de la Bible grecque. Ils ont été présentés lors du colloque organisé à l'Université de Fribourg par l'Institut Dominique Barthélemy les 4 et 5 novembre 2011. Il est d'usage actuellement de parler de multiples types de textes dans l'histoire ancienne de la Bible hébraïque. Comment peut-on expliquer le mieux cette multiplicité? Résulte-t-elle de différents lieux ou de différentes lectures parallèles des textes bibliques dans des communautés juives (juifs de Jérusalem, Samaritains, juifs alexandrins, etc.)? Doit-on plutôt tenir compte de différentes qualités et statuts de certains textes? En d'autres termes, y avait-il, parmi ces différents types de textes, quelques uns jouissant d'une estime et d'une reconnaissance particulières – et si oui, de la part de qui?

## *Inhalt*

Dieses Buch enthält acht Forschungsbeiträge zur Geschichte des Textes und der literarischen Entstehung der hebräischen und griechischen Bibel. Sie wurden an einem Symposium des Institut Dominique Barthélemy am 4.-5. November 2011 an der Universität Freiburg/Schweiz vorgetragen. Die textgeschichtliche Forschung legt üblicherweise den Akzent auf die Vielfalt der Texttypen, welche die früheste Geschichte des Bibeltexts kennzeichnete. Wie lässt sich diese Vielfalt am einleuchtendsten erklären? Geht sie auf örtlich verschiedene Überlieferungen der biblischen Texte oder auf einen von jeher uneinheitlichen Text (bei den Juden in Jerusalem, den Samaritanern, den alexandrinischen Juden) zurück? Gehen die Unterschiede der Textformen auf das Konto von Exemplaren unterschiedlicher Qualität oder des ungleichen Grades ihrer öffentlichen Anerkennung? Mit andern Worten, resultieren manche Unterschiede in der Textform aus dem mehr oder weniger hohen Ansehen und/oder einer eingeschränkten vs. allgemeineren Geltung bestimmter Ausgaben – und, falls letzteres zutreffen sollte: für welche Überlieferkreise?